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HERNAN CORTÈS.

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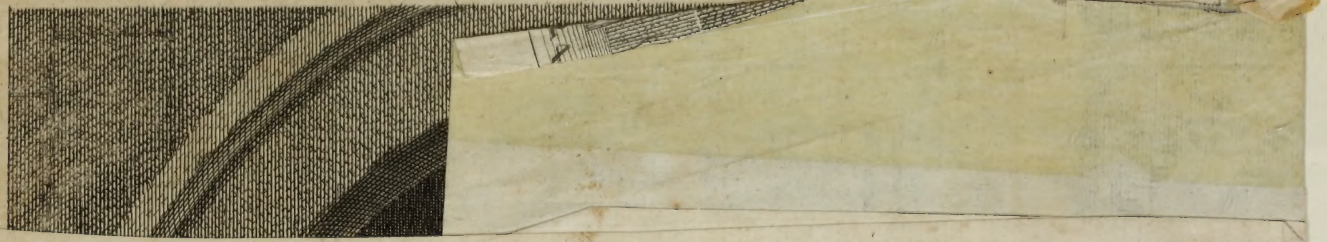

THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO BY THE *SPANIARDS.*

In TWO VOLUMES.

Translated into ENGLISH from the Original SPANISH of Don *ANTONIO DE SOLIS*, SECRETARY and HISTORIOGRAPHER *To His Catholick Majesty*,

By *THOMAS TOWNSEND*, Esq; Late Lieut. Colonel in Brig. Gen. *Newton*'s Regiment.

The whole Translation Revised and Corrected By NATHANAEL HOOKE, Esq; Author of *The* ROMAN *History* in quarto, and Translator of *The Travels of* CYRUS, and *The Life of the Archbishop of* CAMBRAY.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden Ball* in *Pater-noster Row.*

M,DCC,XXXVIII.

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To HIS GRACE

JAMES,

DUKE of CHANDOS.

My LORD,

BEG Leave to recommend to Your Grace's Protection the *History of* HERNAN CORTES, the Fortunate Conqueror of the *Mexican* Empire.

THE Discovery and Conquest of that new World have enriched *England* with no small Share of the Wealth of it; which makes it a Point of Gratitude in Behalf of my Country to publish the Actions of this Hero, and renders him still more worthy of Your Grace's Patronage.

DEDICATION.

My LORD,

I SHALL decline entring on the Subject of thoſe Virtues and diſtinguiſhing Qualities which have ſhewn themſelves ſo eminently in Your Grace, and engaged the Love and Eſteem of all good Men. May You long live the Ornament of Your Country! And permit me the Honour of acknowledging publickly the many Obligations I have to Your Grace, and aſſuring You that I am, with an inviolable Reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient,

And Moſt Faithful

Humble Servant,

Thomas Townſend.

THE

PREFACE.

THE Conqueſt of MEXICO *is one of the greateſt Subjects in all Hiſtory: It leads us through Variety of important Tranſactions to the Overthrow of a vaſt Empire, atchieved by a Handful of Men under the Conduct of* HERNAN CORTES, *who added this ineſtimable Jewel to the Crown of* Spain *in the Time of* CHARLES V.

WHOEVER *will conſider the Difficulties he overcame, and the Battles he fought and won againſt an incredible Superiority of Numbers, muſt own him little inferior to the moſt celebrated Heroes of Antiquity.*

HIS *Hiſtory has been written by ſeveral Authors, and particularly by* Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, Antonio de Herrera, *and* Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo; *who either took Things too much upon Truſt, or were prejudic'd againſt him: But at length the Learned* SOLIS, *by erecting this Trophy to his Honour, diſcharged the*

Debt due from the Spaniſh *Nation to the Memory of ſo illuſtrious a Conqueror.*

THE *great Actions of* CORTES, *and the elegant Pen of* SOLIS, *were the chief Motives that induced me to make him* Engliſh: *To which may be added, that Sir* Paul Rycaut *having tranſlated the Conqueſt of* Peru *from* Garcillaſſo de la Vega, Inca, *my preſent Work compleats the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the* American *Continent.*

AND *notwithſtanding what has been written by ſome concerning the Simplicity and Nakedneſs of the* Indians, *it is plain from the Hiſtory of* SOLIS, *and contributes not a little to the Glory of* CORTES, *that he engaged numerous Armies, which wanted neither Courage, Conduct, nor offenſive Weapons: And though ſome Things in the enſuing Hiſtory may appear fabulous, it is nevertheleſs certain, that* CORTES *really performed more than Flattery has invented of others.*

THE *Tranſlation was the Employment of my leiſure Hours in Country Quarters, in the Kingdom of* Ireland: *How well I have ſucceeded, is humbly ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Reader.*

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THE HISTORY

Of the CONQUEST of MEXICO, *or* NEW SPAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the NECESSITY *of Dividing the Hiſtory of the* Indies *into different Parts, in order to a thorough underſtanding of it.*

IT was my Intention, for ſome Time, to continue the *General Hiſtory of the* WEST INDIES, left by *Antonio de Herrera* in the Year 1554. And while I perſiſted in this bold Deſign, (the Difficulties of which did not ſoon appear) I read, and carefully obſerv'd, what both before and ſince his *Decades* had been written by our own Countrymen, or by Strangers, relating to thoſe Diſcoveries and Conqueſts. But as the Regions of that new World are at ſo great a Diſtance from our He-

misphere, I found that the foreign Writers had been very daring, and no less malicious, to invent whatsoever they pleas'd to the Disadvantage of the *Spaniards*; spending whole Volumes in blaming the Mistakes of some particular Men, in order to darken the Glory of the worthy Actions perform'd by All in common. I observ'd likewise, that there was but little Uniformity and Agreement in the Accounts given by our own Writers: A remarkable Instance of that ordinary Danger to which Truth is expos'd, which seldom fails to be disfigur'd when transmitted from afar; as indeed every Thing, in proportion as it is carried from its Source, loses of its native Purity.

The Obligation I was under to disprove the former, and the Desire I had of reconciling the latter, detain'd me in the Search of Papers, and Memoirs which might serve as a Foundation to my Work: An inglorious Kind of Labour! our Time and our Application being spent in Obscurity, and unseen by the World: A Labour, however, from which no Historian can be exempted; because he is to draw the Truth, pure and unmix'd, which is the very Soul of History, out of that confus'd Medley of differing Accounts; the Care of an Author in this respect resembling that of an Architect, who, before he begins to build, first heaps together his Materials, and then from that formless Mass takes every Thing necessary to the Execution of his Design, drawing out by little and little from the Dust and Confusion of the

Storehouse

Storehouſe the Beauties and Proportions of the Building.

BUT when, furniſh'd with good Materials, I came to put my Deſign in Execution, I found that a General Hiſtory takes in ſo great a Number of Facts independent upon each other, that I thought it little leſs than impoſſible to bring them together without Confuſion; a Difficulty, perhaps, ariſing from my want of Capacity. The Hiſtory of the *Indies* has for its Ground-work three great Actions, ſuch as may vie with the greateſt that former Ages have ſeen: The Exploits of *Chriſtopher Colombus*, in his admirable Navigation and firſt Enterprizes upon the New World; the Courage and Conduct of *Hernan Cortez* in the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, the Bounds of whoſe vaſt Regions are ſtill unknown; and the Labours of *Franciſco Pizarro*, and of his Succeſſors, who ſubdued that moſt extenſive Empire of *South America*, a Theatre of various Tragedies and ſurprizing Novelties. Theſe are three Subjects for great Hiſtories, which, abounding with illuſtrious Atchievements and wonderful Accidents of both Kinds of Fortune, furniſh Matter worthy of our Annals, an agreeable Entertainment for the Memory, and uſeful Examples to improve our Minds, and excite our Courage. But as in the General Hiſtory of the *Indies* theſe three Subjects are blended together, and each of them in particular, with an infinite Number of leſs conſiderable Enterprizes, it is no eaſy Matter to reduce them to

the Connexion of one single Narration, nor to observe the due Order of Time, without interrupting, and even frequently rending to Pieces the principal Story, by a Detail of Circumstances.

THE Masters of the Art, who have given the Name of *Transition* to that Step which an Historian makes from one Event to another, require so just a Proportion to be observ'd between the Parts and the Whole, that the Body of the History may neither appear monstrous by a Superfluity of Members, nor yet fail to have all those which are necessary to preserve a beautiful Variety; but according to their Precepts, the joining of these Parts must be so nicely wrought, that no Eye may discern the Texture; nor must the Things be so different as to be unlike, or to make a Confusion. And this delicate Skill of interweaving Events in such a Manner, that they may not appear Digressions one from another, is the greatest Difficulty to an Historian: For if when we are to resume a Matter we had dropp'd, we recapitulate many of its Circumstances, we inevitably fall into the Inconvenience of Repetition and Prolixity; and if, on the other hand, we neglect to do it, our Style becomes unconnected and obscure: Vices which must equally be avoided, because they ruin the best Performances of an Author.

THIS Danger, common to all General Histories, is greater and almost unavoidable in ours: For the *West Indies* consist of two Empires

pires of very great Extent; each of which contains an Infinity of Provinces, and innumerable Iſlands. Within theſe Limits reign'd divers petty Kings, or Caciques; ſome of them Dependent, and Tributaries to the two Emperors of *Mexico* and *Peru*; the reſt were ſecur'd in their Freedom by the Diſtance of their Situation. All theſe Provinces, or little Kingdoms, were ſo many ſeveral Conqueſts by different Conquerors: Many Enterprizes were form'd at one and the ſame Time, all under brave Captains, tho' little known. They conducted ſome Troops of Soldiers, and theſe Troops were ſtiled Armies; not without ſome Shew of Reaſon, if we conſider the Greatneſs of their Deſigns, and their Succeſs in the Execution. Many Battles were fought in theſe Expeditions with ſome Princes, and in ſome Provinces and Places, the Names of which were difficult not only to be remember'd, but even to be pronounc'd: So that hence aroſe frequent and obſcure Tranſitions in the Hiſtory of thoſe Exploits, and the Abundance of the Matter, perplex'd the Narration; the Hiſtorian being oblig'd frequently to leave and to reſume the leſs important Adventures, and the Reader to turn back to thoſe he had left in Suſpence, or to keep his Memory upon a continual Stretch.

I DO not deny, but that *Antonio de Herrera*, a very careful Writer, (whom I not only ſhall endeavour to follow, but would gladly imitate,) has labour'd with great Succeſs in the

difficult Task he had chosen of a General History: Nevertheless, I do not find all that Perspicuity in his *Decades* which was necessary to make them be understood: Nor was it possible for him to be more clear, having such a Multitude of Adventures to relate, and being oblig'd so often to quit and to resume them as the Order and Succession of Times requir'd.

CHAP. II.

The Reasons which engag'd the Author to write a separate History of North America, *or* New Spain.

MY Design is to recover the History of *New Spain* out of this Labyrinth and Obscurity, in order to write it separately, placing it, as well as I am able, in such a Light, that the Mind of the Reader may be struck by the *Wonderful*, without being shock'd, and instructed by the *Useful*, without being disgusted. I have chosen this Subject out of the Three which I have mention'd, because the Exploits of *Christopher Colombus*, and the first Conquests of the Islands, and of *Darien*, not being intermixed with any other Adventures, are happily and distinctly related in the first and second *Decades* of *Antonio de Herrera*. And as for the History of *Peru*, it is to be met with apart in two Tomes, written by the *Inga Garcilasso*, an Author so exact in his Accounts, and so smooth and

and agreeable in his Style, (according to the Elegance of his Time,) that I ſhould blame any Man as too ambitious, who ſhould attempt to excel him, and give great Encomiums to whoſoever could imitate him in proſecuting that Hiſtory. But *New Spain* either is without a Hiſtory which deſerves that Name, or ſtands in need of a Defence againſt the Reproaches of Poſterity.

Franciſco Lopez de Gomara is the firſt who has treated this Subject; but without any Care or Exactneſs. He relates what he has been told, and affirms it with an exceſſive Credulity, depending as much upon what he has heard, as if he had been an Eye-witneſs of the Facts; and finding no Difficulty in Things improbable, nor Repugnance in Things impoſſible.

THIS Author is followed by *Antonio de Herrera*, both in Time, and in ſome Part of his Accounts; and after him comes *Bartholomé Leonardo de Argenſola*, who has fallen into the ſame Faults with *Herrera*, and is leſs excuſable, having interwoven the firſt Adventures in this Conqueſt into his Annals of *Arragon*, treating them in ſuch a Manner, as to appear there far fetch'd, and to fill only the Place of an Epiſode. He has related what he found in *Antonio de Herrera*: And though his Style be better, yet is it ſo often interrupted and perplex'd by the Mixture of other Adventures, that what is great and heroical in that Enterprize, is either diminiſh'd or entirely

loſt by the Digreſſions, as may be ſeen in many Parts of his Hiſtory.

THERE has ſince come abroad a particular *Hiſtory of New Spain*, a Poſthumous Work of *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*. It was brought to light by a Monk of the Order of our Lady of *La Merced*, he having found the Manuſcript in the Library of a great and learned Miniſter, where it had lain conceal'd for many Years, perhaps on account of ſome Inconveniencies which, at the Time of the printing it, were either over-look'd, or unknown. It paſſes at preſent for an authentick Hiſtory, its rough and unpoliſh'd Style helping it to look like Truth, and to perſuade ſome Readers of the Sincerity of its Author. But though he has the Advantage of having been an Eye-witneſs of thoſe Things he has recorded, one may nevertheleſs diſcover, from his very Work, that he was not ſo free from Paſſion in his Views, as to have the right Government of his Pen: He appears as well ſatisfy'd with his Ingenuity, as ill content with his Fortune; Envy and Ambition openly ſhew themſelves in many Parts of his Book, theſe two intemperate Paſſions frequently breaking forth in Complaints againſt *Hernan Cortez*, the principal Hero of this Hiſtory. He endeavours to penetrate his Deſigns, that he may throw a Slur upon, and correct his Counſels; oftentimes giving out as infallible Rules for Conduct not the Orders of his General, and the Diſpoſitions made by him, but the Murmurs

and

and Mutterings of the Soldiers; although in this Profeſſion there are as many ſtupid ignorant Creatures as elſewhere; and in all Profeſſions, it is equally dangerous to ſuffer thoſe to diſpute, who are born only to obey.

THESE are the Motives which have engaged me to enter upon this Subject, endeavouring to clear it from the Obſcurity in which it is involv'd, and to do Juſtice to injur'd Truth. I ſhall take Help from thoſe Authors I have cited, upon all Occaſions where I ſhall have no reaſonable Ground to differ from them; and I ſhall have Recourſe to other Accounts, and private Memoirs, which I have collected, impartially chuſing thoſe which are moſt worthy of Credit, for the forming of my Relation. I ſhall endeavour to avoid Repetitions, and the mentioning of ſuch Things as ought to be ſuppoſed; waſting no Time in recounting minuter Circumſtances, which either fully the Paper with what is indecent, or fill it with Things unworthy to be remark'd, and ſerve more to ſwell the Volume, than to add any thing to the Dignity of the Hiſtory.

BUT before I enter upon the Execution of what I have undertaken, it will be proper to give an Account of the Poſture of Affairs in *Spain*, at the Time when the Conqueſt of the new World was begun, to the End that we may diſcover its Origin, before we conſider its Progreſs, and that this Knowledge may ſerve as a Foundation to the Building we are going to raiſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Calamities which SPAIN *labour'd under, when the Conquest of* MEXICO *was undertaken.*

THE Year 1517 is no less memorable in this Monarchy, for the Troubles and Disorders with which it was haras's'd, than for the many Felicities which then attended it. *Spain* was at that Time assaulted on all Sides by Tumults, Discords, and Factions, its Tranquillity being disturb'd by such intestine Evils as threaten'd its utter Ruin, and the People remaining in their Fidelity rather from a Sense of their Duty, than as being obedient to the Curb and Reins of Government. At the same Time a Way was opening to its greatest Prosperity in the *West Indies*, by the Discovery of another *Spain*, by which it not only extended its Limits, but renew'd and doubled its Name. Thus Time and Fortune sport themselves with the Things of this World; and thus Good and Evil are either always mingled, or succeed each other with a perpetual Revolution.

IN the Beginning of the foregoing Year died *Don Fernando* the Catholick, and the Schemes he had form'd for the Preservation and Augmentation of his Dominions, being disconcerted by the Death of their Author, the great Loss these Kingdoms had sustain'd, was gradually known by the Disturbances and Disorders in the publick Affairs which follow'd it;

as

as the Value of Cauſes is uſually diſcover'd by the Importance of the Effects.

THE whole Authority of the Government remain'd in the Hands of the Cardinal-Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, *Don Franciſco Ximenes de Ciſneros*, a Man of a reſolute Soul, ſuperior Capacity, and invincible Courage, and endow'd in an equal Degree with Piety, Prudence, and Fortitude: Theſe moral Virtues and heroick Qualities, were all united in him, without the leaſt Diſcord ariſing from their Diverſity. But he was ſo fond of doing every Thing the beſt Way, and ſo active in the Support of his own Opinion, that he frequently let ſlip an Opportunity of doing well, by endeavouring to do better; and his Zeal was not ſo proper for correcting turbulent Spirits, as his Integrity was likely to provoke them.

THE Queen *Donna Juana*, Daughter of *Don Fernando* and *Iſabella*, to whom the Succeſſion of the Kingdom rightfully belong'd, reſided at *Tordeſillas*, where no body was admitted to ſee her, by reaſon of the unhappy Accident which had diſorder'd her Underſtanding, and which, by the too ſtrong Impreſſions it had made upon her Imagination, had either depriv'd her totally of the Uſe of Reaſon, or brought her to reaſon incoherently of thoſe Things with which her Fancy was poſſeſs'd.

PRINCE *Charles* (the Firſt of that Name among the Kings of *Spain*, and Fifth among the Emperors,) whom the Accident of his Mother

Mother had brought to the Crown before the Time, was holding his Court in *Flanders*. And as he was yet but very young, (being only in his Seventeenth Year) as he had not been educated in *Spain*, and as his first Inclinations were pre-ingag'd in favour of the *Flemish* Ministers: All these were melancholy Circumstances, which made his Coming be apprehended, even by those who judg'd it necessary for the Good of the State.

The *Infanto Don Fernando* his Brother, though of fewer Years, yet wanting not a Maturity of Understanding, was highly displeas'd, that his Grandfather *Don Fernando* had not in his last Will named him to be Chief Governor of these Kingdoms, as he had done in a former one, made at *Burgos*; and altho' he strove to keep himself within the Bounds of his Duty, yet he often made this Reflection, (and heard the same from others, who were near him) That had he never been nam'd to that Employment, the Neglect might have been imputed to his want of Years; but to exclude him after he had been once nam'd, was a Distrust of another kind, which put a direct Affront upon his Person and Dignity. So that he could not forbear declaring how little he was satisfied with the new Government. A Discontent extremely dangerous at that Time, because the Minds of the People being in a general Disquiet, and strongly inclin'd to that Prince, as well upon Account of his affable Behaviour, as because he had been

born

born and bred in *Caſtile*; they would undoubtedly have follow'd him, (in caſe of a Diſturbance, as was apprehended) taking Advantage of ſo natural a Motion to act their accuſtom'd Violences.

THESE Perplexities were augmented by another, which gave the Cardinal *Ximenes* no leſs Uneaſineſs. The Dean of *Louvain*, *Adriano Florencio*, who was afterwards Pope, and the Sixth of that Name, had been ſent from *Flanders*, to hold, in Appearance, the Rank and Quality of Ambaſſador at the Court of King *Ferdinand*; but as ſoon as that King was dead, he produced the Powers, which, till then, he had concealed, to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms, in the Name of Prince *Charles*, and to govern in his Abſence. This occaſion'd a Conteſt, which was manag'd on both Sides with great Warmth. The Queſtion was, Whether theſe Powers, or thoſe with which the Cardinal was inveſted, were of the greater Virtue and Authority. The Politicians of that Time manag'd their Arguments upon it with too much Freedom, and little Reſpect; their Reaſonings having always ſome Tincture of the Paſſions, by which they were animated. Thoſe who were fond of Novelty, pretended that the Cardinal was only a Governor, named by another Governor; becauſe King *Ferdinand* bore no other Title ſince the Death of Queen *Iſabel*. The Arguments offer'd by the other Side were not leſs inſolent, ſeeing they tended to an Excluſion of both the Miniſters. They main-

maintain'd, that there was the ſame Defect in the Nomination of the Dean, becauſe, though Prince *Charles* had the Advantage of being lawful Heir to the Crown of *Spain*, he could not, during the Life of his Mother, aſſume any other Quality than that of Governor, in the ſame Manner as his Grandfather had done. Thus they declar'd thoſe two Princes incapable of delegating to their Magiſtrates that Sovereign Authority, which being inſeparable from the Perſon of the King, cannot be lodg'd in that of a Governor.

THE two Governors perceiving that both the Royal Authority, and their own Juriſdiction were ſtruck at by the fomenting of theſe Diſputes, concerted together to unite their Powers. A wiſe Reſolution, had they been able in like manner, to form a Harmony of Genius; but the poſitive Humour of the Cardinal was continually claſhing with the mild Temper of *Adriano*. The firſt was inclin'd to ſuffer no Companion in his Reſolutions; and the other ſupported his with little Activity, and without any Knowledge of the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation. This divided Authority occaſioned a like Diviſion in the Obedience of the Subject, producing the ſame Inconvenience in the State, which would be cauſed by two Rudders in a Ship, whoſe different Steerings would alone create a Tempeſt in the very Midſt of a Calm.

THE Effects of this bad Conſtitution were preſently known, the ill-corrected Humours, with

with which the Commonwealth abounded, being intirely exaſperated. The Cardinal order'd (and he needed but little Perſuaſion to bring over his Collegue to his Opinion) that all the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom ſhould arm themſelves; and that every one ſhould liſt its Militia, training the People to the Uſe of their Arms, and to the Practice of the Obedience due to their Commanders; to which End he appointed Pay for the Officers, and granted Privileges to the Soldiers. Some ſay, that he took theſe Meaſures in view to his own Security; and others, that it was in order to have a Strength ſufficient to curb the Pride of the Grandees. But Experience ſoon made appear, that it was a dangerous Step at that Seaſon: For the Grandees, and thoſe who poſſeſs'd hereditary Lordſhips, (a difficult Body to govern in ſuch rebellious Times) took offence at the arming of the People, believing a Report which had been ſpread, not to be without ſome Foundation, That the Governors intended, by the Help of this Force, to examine into the Origin of their Seignories, and their Pretenſions to thoſe Duties they exacted from their Vaſſals. And even among the People theſe Meaſures had different Effects: For ſome Cities liſted Men, made their Muſters, and trained their Soldiers to military Exerciſes; but in others they look'd on theſe Imitations of War, as affecting their Liberty, and as dangerous to the publick Tranquillity: The Inconvenience of the Novelty being equal

in

in the one and the other; becauſe thoſe Cities which continued in their Duty, were, however, not inſenſible of the Strength they had to ſupport their Diſobedience upon Occaſion; and thoſe that were rebellious, found themſelves in a Condition to force the reſt to follow them, and to put all Things into Confuſion.

CHAP. IV.

The Condition of the diſtant Kingdoms and the Iſlands of America, *which are now called the* Weſt Indies.

AT this Time the reſt of the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, ſuffer'd no leſs than *Caſtile*; there was ſcarce a Stone that did not move, nor a Part from whence they had not Reaſon to fear the Ruin of the whole Fabrick.

Andaluzia groaned under the Oppreſſion of a Civil War, occaſioned by *Don Pedro Giron*, Son to the *Conde de Urenna*, that he might get Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates belonging to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the Succeſſion of which he pretended to, by *Donna Mencia de Guzman*, his Wife; putting the Proof of his Right upon the Deciſion of Arms, and authorizing Violence with the Name of Juſtice.

In *Navarre*, the two Factions of *Beamont* and *Agramont*, which became famous at the Expence of their Country, began to break out again with Violence. The *Beamonteſe*, who were Partiſans of the King of *Caſtile*, called the attacking of their Enemies the Defence of Right: And the *Agramonteſe*, who, after the Death of *Juan de la Brit* and Queen *Catalina*, declared for the Prince of *Bearne*, their Son, preſum'd upon the Protection of *France*, with whoſe Power they threaten'd their Adverſaries. Both the one and the other Party were difficult to reduce; becauſe both cover'd their Hatred with the Appearances of Loyalty, abuſing the Name of the King, which only ſerv'd as a Pretence for Revenge and Sedition.

In *Arragon* there aroſe dangerous Diſputes about the Government of that Kingdom; which, by the Will of King *Fernando*, was left to the Care of his Son *Don Alphonſo*, Archbiſhop of *Zaragoça*, who was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the chief Magiſtrate, or *El Juſticia*, *Don Juan de Lanuza*, out of an Opinion, (either real or affected) that it was inconſiſtent with the Quiet of that Kingdom, to have the abſolute Power veſted in a Perſon of ſuch ambitious Thoughts. And from this Beginning ſprung other Diſputes among the Nobles, which might be conſider'd as too refin'd Reaſonings upon the Point of Loyalty; but as theſe Diſcuſſions infected by Degrees the unreaſoning Minds of the People, they endanger'd their Obedience and Subjection.

CATALONIA and VALENCIA were laid waste by the customary Cruelty of their Banditti, who, not contented with commanding the Country, possess'd themselves of the smaller Towns, and grew terrible to the Cities, with so much Insolence and Security, that the Order of the Commonwealth being disturbed, the Magistrates absconded, and Cruelty prevailed in all Places. Crimes were accounted noble Actions, and the Posterity of Delinquents became illustrious.

IN *Naples* the proclaiming of Queen *Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, was receiv'd with Applause; but even in the Midst of the publick Joy, a seditious Report was spread, the Rise whereof was unknown, but the Wickedness obvious.

IT was said that King *Fernando* had named the Duke of *Calabria*, then a Prisoner in the Castle of *Xativa*, for Heir of the Kingdom. And this Report, which was deservedly slighted in the Beginning, descended to the Commonalty, among whom it pass'd in a Whisper for some Days, until at length swelling with Mystery, it broke out in popular Clamour, and open Tumult; which gave great Uneasiness to the Nobility, and to all those who had any Regard to Reason and Truth.

IN *Sicily* the People took up Arms against the Viceroy, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, with so much Fury, that he was forc'd to leave the Government in the Hands of the Populace; and these Disturbances began to take deeper

Root

Root than thoſe at *Naples*, for they were fomented by ſome of the Nobility; who made the publick Good (always the firſt Signal of Sedition) a Pretence, and the common People an Inſtrument to execute their Revenge, and to paſs on to the more dangerous Deſigns of their Ambition.

NOR were the *Indies*, notwithſtanding their Diſtance, free from this Infection, which extended to the moſt remote Parts of the Monarchy. At that Time all the Conqueſts in that new World conſiſted of the four Iſlands, of *Santo Domingo*, *Cuba*, *San Juan de Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, and a ſmall Part of the *Terra Firma*, which had been peopled in the Province of *Darien*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Uraba*. The Whole of what was denominated the *Weſt Indies*, was contained within theſe Bounds. The firſt Conquerors gave them this Name, becauſe in Wealth and Diſtance they reſembled the *Eaſt Indies*, ſo call'd from the River *Indus*. The reſt of this Empire conſiſted not ſo much in any Thing real, as in the Hopes which had been conceived from ſeveral Diſcoveries and Inroads made by ſome of our Captains with various Succeſs, and more Danger than Profit; but in that little Extent of Country poſſeſs'd by the *Spaniards*, they had ſo far forgotten the Valour of the firſt Conquerors, and Covetouſneſs was ſo rooted in their Minds, that they regarded nothing but enriching themſelves, in utter Defiance to Conſcience and

Reputation, without which two Curbs, a Man is left to his own Nature, and is as savage and cruel as the very Brutes, which make War upon him. There came nothing from those Parts now but Lamentations and Complaints. Zeal for Religion and the publick Good gave way entirely to the Interest and Lust of private Men, and they were continually destroying the poor *Indians*, who groaned under the heavy Load, labouring for Gold to satisfy the Avarice of other Men, and were forced to seek with the Sweat of their Brow, what they themselves despised; cursing the ungrateful Fertility of their Country, as the Cause of their Slavery.

These Disorders gave great Disturbance to *Don Fernando*, who was particularly desirous to protect and convert the *Indians* (always the first Care of our Kings;) to which End he gave Orders, published Laws, and made use of various Means, which lost their Force by the Disadvantage of their Distance, as an Arrow falls short of the Mark, when placed at too great a Distance from the Arm that drew the Bow. But the Death of the King happening before he could enjoy the Fruit of his Labours, the Cardinal enter'd in good Earnest into the Prosecution of this Design, desiring to put that Government once upon a good Footing; to which End he imploy'd four grave Regulars of the Order of St. *Jerom*, sending them with the Character of Inspectors, and another Minister of his own Election, to accompany them, with Commission of Residentiary Judge;

to

to the End, that thoſe two Juriſdictions being united, might extend over the Whole. But they no ſooner arrived at the Iſlands, than they found it impoſſible to execute the Severity of their Inſtructions, and that the Difference is great between Practice and Speculation; and they did little more than experience the ill State of that Government, making the Diſeaſe worſe by the Weakneſs of the Remedy.

CHAP. V.

The Calamities of the Monarchy ceaſe on the Arrival of CHARLES. *At this Time began the Conqueſt of* NEW SPAIN.

IN this Condition were the Affairs of the Monarchy, when *Charles* took Poſſeſſion, and arrived in *Spain*, in the Month of *September* this Year. The Storm began to abate upon his Coming, and the Influence of his Preſence, by little and little, introduc'd a Calm. The firſt Effects of this happy Change were perceived in *Caſtile*, whoſe Tranquillity communicated itſelf to the reſt of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and afterwards reach'd to the Dominions abroad; as in a human Body, the natural Heat diſtributes itſelf, paſſing from the Heart to the Benefit of the moſt diſtant Members. In ſhort, the Influence of the new King extended to *America*, his Name doing as much

much there, as his Preſence did in *Spain*. The Minds of Men became diſpoſed to great Undertakings; the Courage of the Soldiers increaſed; and they began the firſt Operations which preceded the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, the Empire of which had been deſtined by Heaven to ſignalize the Beginning of the Reign of this auguſt Monarch.

THE Iſland of *Cuba* was at that Time governed by Captain *Diego Velaſquez*, who went thither as Lieutenant to the ſecond Admiral of the *Indies*, *Don Diego Colon*, with ſuch good Fortune, that the Conqueſt of it was owing to him, and the greateſt Part of the Settlement.

AS that Iſland was the moſt Weſtern of thoſe that had been diſcover'd, and neareſt to the Continent of *North America*, they had there large Accounts of other Lands, not far diſtant, tho' it was ſtill a Doubt whether they were Iſlands, or not. They talk'd, however, of the Riches of thoſe Countries with as much Certainty as if they had ſeen them; whether it be that this Confidence was grounded upon what Experience had diſcover'd in the Conqueſts already made, or that the Proſperities, with which we flatter ourſelves, have but a ſhort Step to make from the Fancy to abſolute Belief.

THE great Idea conceived of thoſe Parts increaſed at this Time by what thoſe Soldiers related, who had accompanied *Franciſco Fernandez de Cordova* in the Diſcovery of *Yucatan*,

tan, a Peninſula ſituate on the Confines of *New Spain*. And altho' that Undertaking was not proſperous, and they could not then make a Conqueſt, becauſe the Captain and the greateſt Part of his Men died gallantly in the Attempt, yet at leaſt they were ſatisfied of the Reality of thoſe Countries; and the Soldiers, who arrived at this Time, altho' wounded and overcome, were ſo little daunted, that even in magnifying what they had ſuffer'd, they ſhewed an Inclination to return to the Enterprize, and infuſed the ſame Deſire into the reſt of the *Spaniards* of the Iſland; not ſo much by their Words and Example, as by ſhewing ſome little Toys of Gold, which they brought from the new diſcover'd Country, under the Standard, and in ſmall Quantity, but ſo much heighten'd in Value by the Strength of Imagination, that all began to promiſe themſelves great Riches from this Conqueſt, and to raiſe mighty Structures in Fancy upon the Foundation of what they had ſeen.

Some Writers do not allow that this firſt Gold, or Metal mix'd with it, came at that Time from *Yucatan*, grounding their Opinion on that Province's not producing any, and the Eaſineſs of contradicting what no body maintains. We follow thoſe who relate what they ſaw, without finding any great Difficulty in ſuppoſing that Gold might be brought from ſome other Part to *Yucatan*, well knowing that to produce it, and to have it, are different Things. It appears by its not being found any

where but in the Temples, that those *Indians* esteem'd it as something excellent, since they applied it solely to the Worship of their Gods.

Diego Velasquez seeing the Name of *Yucatan* in so much Credit with every one, began to entertain Thoughts of raising himself to farther Greatness, as one who found himself uneasy in acknowledging Admiral *Diego de Colon* his Superior in that Government; a Dependance now more nominal than real, but yet such, as when he consider'd his Rank and great Successes, gave him inward Trouble, and destroy'd the Relish of his good Fortune. With this View he resolv'd to renew the Attempt of a Discovery, and conceiving fresh Hopes from the Ardour, with which the Soldiers offered themselves, he published his Design. Men were listed, and three Vessels and a Brigantine fitted out, and well stor'd with Ammunition and Provisions. He appointed *Juan de Grijalva*, a Relation of his own, to be Commander in Chief; and *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Francisco de Montexo*, and *Alonso Davila*, to command under him, Men of eminent Quality, but yet more distinguish'd in those Islands by their Valour and Humanity, the second and most valuable Kind of Nobility. But notwithstanding they easily assembled about two hundred and fifty Soldiers, including in this Number Pilots and Mariners, and made all the Dispatch which Men, so eager on their Enterprize, could possibly do, they did not put to Sea until the Eighth of *April*, the Year following, 1518.

They

THEY ſet out with a Deſign to follow the ſame Courſe as in the former Voyage; but falling off ſome Degrees, by the Strength of the Currents, they came upon the Iſle of *Cozumel*, (the firſt Diſcovery in this Voyage,) where they refreſhed themſelves, without any Oppoſition from the Natives; and returning on board, they ſtood their Courſe, and in few Days found themſelves in Sight of *Yucatan*; and having doubled the Point of *Cotoche*, the moſt Eaſtern Part of that Province, they ſtood Weſterly, with the Larboard to the Shore, which they coaſted, until they arrived at *Potonchan*, or *Champoton*, where *Franciſco Fernandez de Cordova* was routed and killed: To revenge whoſe Death, more than out of any Neceſſity, they landed; and having vanquiſh'd and terrified thoſe *Indians*, determined to purſue their Diſcovery.

THEY ſtood Weſterly by common Conſent, without keeping at a greater Diſtance from the Land than was neceſſary for their Safety, and diſcover'd on a Part of the Coaſt (which extended a great Way, and appeared very delightful) ſeveral Towns, with Buildings of Stone, which very much ſurpriſed them, and in the Ecſtacy of Joy with which they made their Obſervations, ſeem'd to be great Cities, with Towers and Pinnacles; Objects at this Time, contrary to the ordinary Rule, appearing greater, as they were more diſtant. And becauſe one of the Soldiers at that Time ſaid, that this Country was like *Spain*, the Compariſon ſo much

much pleased the Hearers, and made such an Impression upon their Minds, that we have no Account of any other Beginning of the Name of *New Spain*, given to that Country: Words accidentally spoken, but so successfully repeated, that without any Propriety or Beauty to recommend them, they have fixed themselves for ever on the Memories of Men.

CHAP. VI.

Juan de Grijalva *enters the River of* Tobasco.

OUR Vessels followed the Coast, until such Time as they came to the Place where the River *Tobasco*, one of the navigable Rivers which run into the Gulph of *Mexico*, discharges itself at two Mouths. From the Time of this Discovery, it has been called the River of *Grijalva*: but the Province water'd by it, situate on the Frontiers of *New Spain*, between *Tuxtan* and *Guazacualco*, retains the old Name. In these Parts they discover'd spacious Groves, and so many Towns on the two Banks of the Stream, that with the Hopes of making a considerable Progress, *Juan de Grijalva* resolved (with the Approbation of his Men) to go up the River, and take a View of the Country: and finding by the Soundings, that he could only make use of the two lesser Vessels, he embarked all his Soldiers on board them, and left the other two at an Anchor, with Part of the Sailors. THEY

They began, not without ſome Difficulty, to overcome the Strength of the Current; when they perceived at a little Diſtance, a conſiderable Number of Canoes, filled with armed *Indians*, and on the Shore ſeveral ſmall Bodies of Men, who ſeemed prepared for an Engagement; and who both by their Voices and Motions, which were now diſtinguiſhable, endeavour'd to perſuade the *Spaniards*, that their Landing would be difficult; their Geſtures being ſuch as Men in Fear are wont to uſe, who would keep off Danger by Menaces. But our People, accuſtom'd to greater Enterprizes, approach'd in good Order until the two Parties were within reach of one another's Weapons. The General commanded that no one ſhould fire, or make any Signal, but of Peace; and the Admiration the *Indians* were in at the Make of the Ships, and Difference of the Men and Habits, ſeemed to have impos'd upon them the ſame Orders; for they ſtood without Motion, as deprived of the Uſe of their Hands, by the Aſtoniſhment under which their Eyes had brought them. *Grijalva* made uſe of this ſeaſonable and accidental Amuſement, wherein he found the Enemy, to leap on Shore, followed by a Part of his Men, with more Expedition than Danger. He drew them up, and erected the Royal Standard: And after thoſe cuſtomary Solemnities were performed, which being little more than Ceremonies, were yet called Acts of Poſſeſſion, he endeavour'd to make the *Indians* underſtand, that he came

in

in Peace, without any Design to offend them. This Message was carried by two *Indian* Boys, who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to *Yucatan*, and at their Baptism had the Names of *Julian* and *Melchor*. They understood the Language of *Tobasco*, as being like that of their own Country; and they had learn'd ours, so that they made themselves understood with some Difficulty; but in a Country where they were often forc'd to speak by Signs, that indifferent Interpretation pass'd for Eloquence.

The Result of this Embassy was such, that about thirty *Indians* had the Boldness to draw nearer in four Canoes, with some Precaution.

Canoes were Boats, made of the Trunks of Trees, work'd hollow after such a Manner, that some were capable of holding fifteen or twenty Men; such is the Largeness of those Trees, and the Fertility of the Country that produces them. They saluted each other courteously; and *Juan de Grijalva*, after having removed their Apprehensions by some Presents, made them a short Discourse, giving them to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, *That he and his Soldiers were Vassals to a powerful Monarch, who possess'd an Empire where the Sun rises; in whose Name he came to offer them Peace and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects.* They heard his Proposition with the Marks of a disagreeable Attention; and we must not omit the natural Discretion of one of those *Barbarians*, who, silencing the rest, answer'd

Grijalva,

Grijalva, with Firmneſs and Reſolution, *That he did not eſteem That to be a good Kind of Peace, the Preliminaries of which were Subjection and Vaſſalage; and that he could not but wonder at it as a Thing very prepoſterous, that he ſhould talk to them of a new Maſter, before he knew whether they were diſcontented with him they already had: But that as to the Point of Peace or War, (the only Queſtion at preſent) they would ſpeak of it to their Superiors, and return with their Anſwer.*

THEY took leave with this Reſolution, and our People remained equally ſurprized and concerned. The Satisfaction of having found *Indians* of more Reaſon and better Diſcourſe than uſual, being allay'd by the Difficulties they expected to meet with in conquering them; for they rightly concluded, That thoſe who knew how to diſcourſe ſo well, would alſo know how to fight, or that at leaſt they had Reaſon to apprehend a different Kind of Valour with their different Underſtandings; it being certain that in War the Head does more than the Hands. But theſe Conſiderations of the Danger (on which both Captains and Soldiers variouſly reaſoned) paſs'd as prudent Reflections, but made little or no Impreſſion on their Hearts. They were undeceived in a little Time; for the ſame *Indians* returned with Signals of Peace, ſaying, *That their Caziques did accept it, not that they feared War, or were ſo eaſily to be overcome*

as the People of Yucatan (*whose Defeat they had learn'd*) *but because our Men having left Peace or War to their Election, they thought themselves obliged to chuse the best*; and in Token of the new Friendship they were going to establish, they brought a plentiful Regale of Provisions and Fruits. A little after came the principal Cazique, with a slender Attendance of unarmed People, thereby giving to understand the Confidence he had in his Guests, and that he came secure in his own Sincerity. *Grijalva* received him with Demonstrations of Satisfaction and Courtesy, and the *Indian* made a Return in Submissions after his Manner, accompanied with an Air of Gravity, either real or affected. After the first Compliments, he order'd his Servants to come up with another Present of divers Curiosities, of more Workmanship than Value: Plumes of various Colours; Robes of fine Cotton, with some Figures of Animals to adorn them, made of Gold, thin and light, or curiously wrought in Wood, set in Gold, or overlaid with it; and without staying for the Acknowledgements of *Grijalva*, the Cazique gave him to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, *That his Design was Peace, and that the Intention of that Present was, to take a friendly Leave of his Guests, in order to maintain it.* *Grijalva* answered him, *That he very much esteem'd his Liberality; and that his Purpose was to pass forwards, without making any Stop, or giving him any Umbrage:*

Umbrage: A Reſolution to which he inclined, partly to make a generous Return to the good Behaviour of thoſe People, and the Confidence they had plac'd in him; and partly for the Conveniency of a Retreat, and of having Friends at his Back, in caſe of any Accident that might occur. And ſo he took his leave, and re-embark'd, having firſt preſented the Cazique and his Servants with ſome *Caſtilian* Trifles, which altho' of very little Value, bore a Price for their Novelty; which ſhould be leſs ſurpriſing to the *Spaniards* now-a-days, when they themſelves buy foreign Glaſſes at ſuch exceſſive Rates.

Antonio de Herrera, and thoſe who follow him, or have writ ſince, affirm, that the Cazique preſented *Grijalva* with a Suit of Armour of fine Gold, with all the Pieces belonging to it; that he armed himſelf compleatly with them; and that they fitted him as well as if they had been made for him: Circumſtances too remarkable to have been omitted by more antient Authors. He took it, perhaps, from *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*, whom he uſes to reject on other Occaſions; but *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who was there preſent, and *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, who wrote at that Time in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, make no mention of theſe Arms, altho' both give a minute Account of all the Curioſities brought from *Tobaſco*. I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader what Credit is

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to be given to those Authors, desiring only the Liberty to relate the Story, without blaming any one for doubting the Truth of it.

CHAP. VII.

Juan de Grijalva *prosecutes his Voyage, and enters the River of* Flags, *where he has the first Account of the* Mexican *King* Motezuma.

GRIJALVA and his Companions pursued their Voyage, standing the same Course, still discovering new Lands and Towns, without any memorable Accident, until they came to a River, which they call'd the River of *Flags*; because on the Shore and neighbouring Coasts, they saw a great Number of *Indians*, with white Flags hanging at the Tops of their Spears, and who, by their Manner of waving them, together with their Signals, Cries, and different Motions, made a Shew of Peace, and seemed rather to invite Passengers than forbid them. *Grijalva* order'd *Francisco de Montejo* to advance with some of his Men in two Boats, to try the Entrance of the River, and discover the Intentions of those *Indians*. This Captain finding a good Anchoring Place, and little to apprehend from the Behaviour of the People, gave Notice to the rest to come up. They all landed, and were

were received with great Admiration and Marks of Joy by the *Indians:* From amongſt whom, aſſembled in great Numbers, three advanced, who, by the Ornaments of their Habits, ſeemed the principal Men of the Country; and ſtopping ſo long as was neceſſary to obſerve who was the chief Commander, by the Reſpect the others paid him, they went directly up to *Grijalva,* whom they accoſted with great Reverence, and who received them with equal Courteſy. Our Interpreters did not underſtand the Language of this Country, ſo that the Compliments were made by civil Signs, with ſome Words of more Sound than Signification.

After this they ſaw a Banquet, which the *Indians* had provided of different Sorts of Food, plac'd, or rather thrown upon Mats of Palm, under the Shade of the Trees; a ruſtick and diſorderly Plenty, but not the leſs grateful to the Taſte of the hungry Soldiers. After which Refreſhment, the three *Indians* commanded their People to ſhew ſome Pieces of Gold, which they had concealed till then; and by their Manner of ſhewing and holding them, it was underſtood that they did not deſign to make a Preſent of them, but to purchaſe with them the Merchandize of the Ships, the Fame of which had already reach'd their Ears. Preſently a Fair was open'd for Strings of Beads, Combs, Knives, and other Inſtruments of Iron and Alchymy, which in that Country might be called Jewels of great

Price, the Fondneſs of the *Indians* for thoſe Trifles giving them a real Value. They were exchanged for Implements, and Trinkets of Gold, not of the greateſt Fineneſs, but in ſuch abundance, that in the ſix Days the *Spaniards* ſtopp'd there, the *Ranſomes* amounted to fifteen thouſand Peſo's.

We don't know with what Propriety they gave the Name of Ranſomes to this Kind of Trucking, nor why they called it Ranſomed Gold, which in Truth was deliver'd over to a greater Slavery, and had more Liberty where it was leſs eſteemed: But I ſhall make uſe of this Expreſſion, becauſe I find it introduced into our Hiſtories, and before them into the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt Indies*; it being granted that in the Manner of ſpeaking, whereby Things are explain'd, the Reaſon is not ſo much to be ſought after, as the Cuſtom, which according to the Opinion of *Horace*, is the true Judge of Language, and either gives or takes away, as it pleaſes, that Harmony which the Ear finds between Sounds and their Signification.

Juan de Grijalva finding that the Ranſomes were at an end, and the Ships in ſome Danger, by being expoſed to the North Wind, took his leave of thoſe People, who remained highly pleaſed, and reſolv'd to purſue his Diſcovery, having underſtood by Signs that theſe three *Indian* Chiefs were Subjects to a Monarch called *Motezuma*, whoſe Empire extended over numerous Countries abounding with

with Gold, and other Riches; and that they came by his Order to examine, after a peaceable Manner, into the Intentions of our People, whoſe Neighbourhood, in all Appearance, gave him Diſturbance. Some Writers run into larger Accounts, but it doth not ſeem eaſy to conceive whence they could have gained their Knowledge, nor was it a ſmall Matter to learn ſo much as we have related, where People were oblig'd to ſpeak with their Hands, and underſtand by their Eyes.

THEY ſailed on, without loſing Sight of Land, and paſſing by two or three Iſlands of ſmall Note, landed in one they called the *Iſland of Sacrifices*, becauſe going in to view a Houſe of Lime and Stone, which overlooked the reſt, they found ſeveral Idols of a horrible Figure, and a more horrible Worſhip paid to them; for near the Steps where they were placed, were the carcaſſes of ſix or ſeven Men, newly ſacrificed, cut to Pieces, and their Entrails laid open. This miſerable Sight ſtruck our People with Horror, and affected them with different Sentiments, their Hearts being filled with Compaſſion, at the ſame Time that they were enraged at the Abomination.

THEY ſtaid but a little while in this Iſland, becauſe the Inhabitants being in a Conſternation, the Ranſomes were not conſiderable. They paſſed on to another, which was not far from the main Land, and ſo ſituated, that between that and the Coaſt there was ſufficient Room and convenient Shelter for the Ships.

They called it the Island of *St. Juan*, because they arrived there on the Day of the Baptist, and likewise in Respect to the Name of their General, mixing Devotion with Flattery; and because an *Indian*, who was pointing with his Hand towards the Main Land, giving them to understand how it was called, repeated several times, with a bad Pronunciation, the Word *Culua! Culua!* this gave occasion to the Surname, by which they distinguished it from *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, calling it *St. Juan de Ulua:* A little Island of more Sand than Soil; and which lay so low, that sometimes it was cover'd by the Sea. But from these humble Beginnings, it became the most frequented and most celebrated Port of *New Spain*, on that Side which is bounded by the North Sea.

HERE they staid some Days; for the *Indians* of the neighbouring Parts came with their Pieces of Gold, believing they had the Advantage of the *Spaniards* in changing them for Glass. And *Juan de Grijalva* finding that his Instructions limited him to discover and ransome, without making a Settlement, (which was expresly forbidden him) resolved to give an Account to *Diego Velasquez*, of the large Countries he had discover'd; that in case he should determine to plant a Colony there, he might send him new Orders with a Supply of Forces, and the necessary Stores and Provisions. For this purpose he dispatch'd Captain *Pedro de Alvarado* in one of the

the four Ships, giving him all the Gold, and whatever elſe they had acquired, to the end, that the Shew of that Wealth might give his Embaſſy the more Weight, and facilitate his Propoſal of Settling, to which he was always inclined; notwithſtanding *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara* denies it, and blames him on this account as a puſilanimous Perſon.

CHAP. VIII.

Juan de Grijalva *goes on with his Diſcovery, until he has coaſted the Province of* Panuco. *What happen'd in the River of* Canoes, *and his Reſolution to return to the Iſle of* Cuba.

SCARCE had *Pedro de Alvarado* ſteered his Courſe for *Cuba*, when the reſt of the Ships parted from *St. Juan de Ulua* in Purſuit of their Way, and following the Guidance of the Coaſt, turn'd with it towards the North, having in view the two Mountains of *Tuſpa* and *Tuſta*, which ſtretch a great way between the Sea and the Province of *Tlaſcala*. After which they came upon the Coaſt of *Panuco*, the fartheſt Province of *New Spain*, on the Gulph of *Mexico*, and came to an Anchor in the River of *Canoes*, which took this Name at that Time, becauſe in the little Space they ſtopp'd to take a View of it, they were aſſaulted by ſixteen Canoes, filled

with armed *Indians*, who, by the Help of the Current attack'd the Ship, commanded by *Alonso Davila*, and after discharging a furious Shower of Arrows, cut one of the Cables, and endeavour'd to board the Ship; a Resolution becoming *Barbarians*, but such, as had it been favour'd with Success, might have deserved the Name of a gallant Action. But the other two Ships coming immediately up to her Relief, the Men in an instant mann'd their Boats, charging the Canoes with so much Vigour, that one could not distinguish betwixt the Attack and the Victory: Some of them were overset, many *Indians* killed, and those who had more Prudence to know the Danger, or used more Diligence to avoid it, put to Flight.

It did not seem proper to follow this Victory, by reason of the small Advantage by Traffick that could be hoped for from frighten'd Fugitives; wherefore they weigh'd Anchor, and prosecuted their Voyage till they arrived at a Point of Land which ran far into the Sea, which, seemingly enrag'd with it, as usurping upon its Territories, maintain'd an obstinate War against the Rocks. The Pilots made use of all their Industry and Skill to double this Cape; but were forc'd to give way to the Strength of the Current, and not without Danger of oversetting, or running ashore. This Accident occasion'd the Pilots to protest against proceeding any farther; in which they were seconded by the general Cla-

Clamours of the Men, grown weary now of ſo tedious a Navigation, and more apprehenſive of the Dangers that might attend it. Upon which *Juan de Grijalva*, a Man of equal Prudence and Courage, aſſembled the Captains and Pilots, to conſult what was to be done in their preſent Circumſtances. In this Council they weighed the Difficulty of paſſing forward, and the Uncertainty of returning; that one of their Ships had ſuffer'd, and wanted to be refitted; that their Proviſion began to ſpoil, and the Men to be diſſatisfied and fatigued. They conſider'd withal, that to make a Settlement, was contrary to the Inſtructions of *Diego Velaſquez*; and that they were in an ill Condition to undertake it, without a further Reinforcement; ſo that in the end, they reſolved with one Accord to ſteer their Courſe for *Cuba*, in order to furniſh themſelves with what was neceſſary for undertaking a third time this great Affair, now left unfiniſh'd. This was preſently put in Execution, and ſailing back the Way by which they came, taking a View of other Parts of the ſame Coaſts, without ſtopping long at any Place, yet making ſome Profit by Ranſomes, they arrived at length at the Port of *Sant Jago*, in *Cuba*, the 15th of *November*, 1518.

Some few Days before, *Pedro de Alvarado* was arrived at the ſame Port, and very well received by the Governor *Diego Velaſquez*, who expreſſed an incredible Joy, at the Account of the large Countries diſcover'd,

and, above all, at the Sight of the fifteen thousand Peso's of Gold, which supported the Relation without any Occasion for Exaggerations.

The Governor beheld this Wealth with Admiration, and hardly believing his Eyes, made *Pedro de Alvarado* repeat a second and third time what he had before related, finding something new in the very Thing he had just heard; as a Musician is delighted with the Repetition of his Tune. But this Satisfaction was soon allayed by his Impatience at the Conduct of *Don Juan de Grijalva*, because he had not made a Settlement in the Country where he had been so well received: And although *Petro de Alvarado* endeavour'd to excuse him, yet having been one of those who had advis'd the making a Settlement in the River of *Flags*, he spoke but faintly, as a Man usually does when he endeavours to enforce any thing against his own Opinion. *Diego Velasquez* accused him of Want of Resolution, and, angry at his own Choice, confess'd he was to blame for having sent him, proposing to intrust this Undertaking to some more active Person, without considering how he disoblig'd a Relation, to whom he owed the very Happiness which raised his Hopes to such a Pitch. But the first Effect that good Fortune has on the Minds of the Ambitious, is to captivate their Reason, and take from them the Sense of Gratitude. He thought of nothing now but to obtain the Prize, and

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at any Rate enjoy the Proſperity which he promiſed himſelf from that great Diſcovery; raiſing his Imaginations to mighty Things, and hoping now to compaſs that which before exceeded his very Deſires.

He reſolv'd immediately to make Preparations for the Conqueſt of this Country, to which the Name of *New Spain* gave a great Reputation. He communicated his Reſolution to the Regulars of St. *Jerom*, who reſided in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, but in ſuch Terms, that he ſeemed rather to deſire their Approbation, than ask their Permiſſion. And he ſent a Perſon to Court, with a large Account of the Diſcovery, together with a Memorial, in which his own Services were not forgotten; in Reward of which, he requeſted ſome Favours, and the Title of the King's Lieutenant of thoſe Countries he ſhould conquer.

He had already bought ſome Veſſels, and begun to fit out a new Fleet, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived, and found him as much incenſed, as he had Reaſon to expect him thankful. *Velaſquez* reprimanded him ſharply and publickly; the other modeſtly declining to ſay all he could have done in his own Defence. However, he laid before *Velaſquez* his own Inſtructions, which expreſſly forbad him to ſettle: But the Governor's ambitious Proſpects had now ſo tranſported him beyond the Bounds of Reaſon, that tho' he owned the Order, yet he treated Obedience to it as a Crime.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Difficulties which occurr'd in the Choice of a Commander of the new Fleet, and who HERNAN CORTES *was, who, in the end, obtained that Post.*

BUT *Diego Velasquez* knowing how much it imported to be quick in his Resolutions, and that by losing Time, he might lose a favourable Opportunity, gave immediate Orders for refitting the four Vessels which served in the Voyage of *Grijalva*; with which, and those he had bought, he made up ten Vessels, from eighty to an hundred Tuns, using the same Dispatch in arming and furnishing them with Stores and Provisions; but he was at a Loss upon whom to fix the Command. His Design was to chuse a Man of Resolution, who would know how to disengage himself from Difficulties, and make use of Opportunities, but withal, so manageable, as not to give him any Jealousy, or have any other Ambition than to advance the Glory of his Principal; which, in other Words, was to seek for a Man of great Courage, and a mean Spirit. But it not being easy to find these two Extreams in the same Subject, it delayed his Determination for some Days. The Voice of the People was in favour of *Juan de Grijalva*, and they usually do Justice in their Elections. What served greatly to recommend him, were his good Qualities, the

the Trouble he had taken in this Diſcovery, together with his Knowledge of the Navigation, and of the Country.

THE other Pretenders were *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velaſquez*, near Relations of the Governor, *Baltaſar Bermudez*, *Vaſco Porcallo*, and other Cavaliers of that Iſland, of ſufficient Merit to pretend to greater Employments; and upon this Occaſion every one diſcours'd, as if he was the only proper Choice; and indeed, generally ſpeaking, when the Diſpoſal of Imployments is delay'd, it ſerves only to increaſe the Number of Pretenders, and multiply the Complaints of the Unfortunate.

BUT *Diego Velaſquez* continued in his Irreſolution, fearing the Ambition of thoſe whoſe Capacity he approved, until adviſing with *Amador de Lariz*, the King's Treaſurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, which two he entirely confided in, and who knew his Temper perfectly well, they propoſed their intimate Friend *Hernan Cortes*, being not over-laviſh in his Praiſe, leſt their Advice ſhould be ſuſpected; inſinuating withal, that they ſpoke more out of Regard to the Succeſs of the Undertaking, than the Intereſt of their Friend. Their Propoſition was well heard, and they contented themſelves with ſeeing him favourably inclined, giving him Time to conſider of it, with Hopes, of intirely perſwading him in a ſecond Converſation.

BUT before we go farther, it will be proper to ſay who *Hernan Cortes* was, and thro' what

what Variety of Events his happy Destiny led him to atchieve, by his Valour and Conduct, the Conquest of *New Spain*. I call that, Destiny, which, speaking as a Christian, is the sovereign and unsearchable Disposition, made by the first Cause, who leaving second Causes to act in Subordination to his Providence, as natural Means, produces all that happens by his Permission or Appointment, in a manner consistent with that Liberty of Choice which he has bestowed upon Mankind.

He was born in *Medillin*, a Town of *Estremadura*, Son of *Martin Cortes*, of *Monroy*, and *Donna Catalina-Pizarro Altamarino*, Names that sufficiently declare the Nobility of his Extraction. In his Youth, he for some time applied himself to Letters, and was two Years at *Salamanca*, which were sufficient to make him sensible, that the sedentary Application of a studious Life was contrary to his Temper, and did not suit the Vivacity of his Spirit. He returned home resolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him that of *Italy*, which was then the most considerable, and made the greatest Noise with the Name of the Great Captain *Gonsalvo de Cordoua*. But when he was to embark, he fell dangerously ill of a Distemper, which continued many Days; by which Accident he found himself obliged to change his Intention, though not his Profession; and therefore he resolved to go to the *Indies*, where the War at that Time was carried on with a View

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to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked, with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504, and carried Letters of Recommandation to *Don Nicholas de Obando*, Great Commander of the Order of *Alcantara*, his Kinſman, and then Governor of the Iſland of *Sant Domingo*. He was no ſooner arrived there, and known, than he gained the general Good-will and Eſteem; and was ſo kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted by him into the Number of his Friends, and offer'd his Aſſiſtance in a particular Manner: But all thoſe Favours were not ſufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms; for he was ſo uneaſy with the State of Inaction, wherein he found that Iſland, which the *Spaniards* now poſſeſſed without any Oppoſition from the Natives, that he deſir'd Leave to go and ſerve in the Iſle of *Cuba*, where the War was ſtill carried on: And having gained the Conſent of his Kinſman, he endeavour'd to ſignalize himſelf in that War both by Valour and Obedience, which are the firſt Rudiments of the Military Profeſſion. He very ſoon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but alſo that of an able Commander, diſtinguiſhing both his Courage in Action, and his Capacity in Council.

CORTES was well made, and of an agreeable Countenance; and beſides thoſe common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which render'd him very amiable; for he always ſpoke well of the Abſent, and was plea-

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sant and discreet in his Conversation. His Generosity was such, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being suffer'd by him to publish their Obligations.

He married in that Island *Donna Cathalina-Suarez Pacheco*, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This Courtship brought him under many Difficulties, by the interfering of *Diego Velasquez*, who made him Prisoner till such Time as all Differences were adjusted; and then *Velasquez* stood Father to the Bride, and gave her to him in Marriage. After which they were intimate Friends; and the Governor in a little Time gave him a Distribution of *Indians*, and the Post of *Alcalde*, or Chief Magistrate in the very Town of *St. Jago*; an Imployment usually conferr'd on those who had distinguish'd themselves in the Conquest of those Countries.

In these Circumstances was *Hernan Cortes*, when *Amador de Lariz* and *Andres de Duero* proposed him for the Conquest of *New Spain*; and they did it with so much Address, that the next time they waited upon *Diego Velasquez*, furnish'd with fresh Reasons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him resolv'd on *Hernan Cortes*, and so possess'd with the Advantages of entrusting the Undertaking to his Care, that they chang'd their premeditated Arguments into Flattery, and only endeavour'd to oblige him by applauding a Resolution so agreeable to their own Wishes. They agreed with the Governor that it was conve-

convenient immediately to publiſh the Choice, in order to put a Stop at once to all further Pretenſions; and *Andres de Duero* was not dilatory in the Diſpatch of the Commiſſion: the Subſtance of which was, *That* Diego Velaſquez, *as Governor of the Iſle of* Cuba, *and Promoter of the Diſcoveries of* Yucatan *and* New Spain, *did name* Hernan Cortes *for Captain-General of the Fleet, and of the Countries already diſcover'd, or which ſhould be diſcover'd*; with the moſt extenſive Powers, and moſt honourable Clauſes, which the Friendſhip of the Secretary could add, under Pretence of obſerving the neceſſary Forms.

CHAP. X.

The Rivals of Cortes *endeavour with all their Power to ſet* Diego Velaſquez *againſt him, but without Effect. He ſails with the Fleet out of the Port of* Sant Jago.

CORTES received the new Charge from *Velaſquez* with great Expreſſions of Reſpect and Acknowledgment, being as ſenſibly affected at that Time, with the Confidence the Governor repoſed in his Perſon, as he was afterwards with his Diſtruſt. The Reſolution was made publick, and well received among thoſe who deſir'd to ſee that Affair brought to a Concluſion; but occaſion'd much Diſcontent among his Rivals for the Employment.

ment. Those who declared themselves with the greatest Boldness, were the Relations of *Diego Velasquez*, who made very strong Efforts to raise in the Governor a Distrust of *Hernan Cortes*. They told him, *That he placed a great deal of Confidence in a Man whom he had so little obliged; that if he consider'd the Conduct of* Cortes, *he would find that he was not much to be depended on, for that his Words and Actions very seldom agreed; that his Courtesy and Liberality had an Artifice in them, which rendered him suspected to those who are not led away by the bare Appearances of Virtue; that he was over assiduous to gain the Affections of the People; and that such sort of Friends, when they are in great Numbers, are easily form'd into a Party; that he would do well to remember the Disgust his Imprisonment had given him; and that a Man rarely makes true Friends of those, to whom he has given such Occasion of Complaint; for the Wounds of the Mind, as well as of the Body, leave Scars behind, which are wont to put a Man in mind of the Offence, when he has the Power to revenge it.* To these they added other Reasons more specious than solid, without much Regard to Truth, aiming to appear zealous in the Governor's Interest, the better to dissemble their real Views.

'Tis reported that *Diego Velasquez*, walking out one Day with *Hernan Cortes*, and with

with his Friends and Relations, a pleaſant crack-brain'd Fellow, with whoſe Whimſies he uſed to be diverted, ſaid to him, *Thou haſt done well, Friend* Diego; *ſhortly there will be Occaſion for another Fleet to go in Purſuit of* Cortes. There are ſome that relate this as a Prophecy, conſidering how luckily Madmen ſometimes hit upon Things, and the Impreſſion that it made on the Mind of the Governor. Let us leave it to Philoſophers to diſpute whether the foretelling of what is to come be one of the Extravagances of a diſtempered Imagination, or if it be poſſible that a Judgment ſo diſorder'd ſhould be capable of Divination. Let them employ their Wit in ſearching for Reaſons to maintain ſuch an Opinion; I, for my part, ſhall believe that this craz'd Perſon was put upon ſaying what he did by the Enemies of *Cortes*, and that their Malice was but poorly ſupported by Reaſon, when they were obliged to have Recourſe to Madneſs.

But *Diego Velaſquez* ſtood firm to his Reſolution, and *Hernan Cortes* wholly applied himſelf to haſten the Preparations for his Departure. The firſt Step was, to erect his Standard, with the Sign of the Croſs, having this Inſcription in *Latin: Let us follow the Croſs, for with this Sign we ſhall overcome.* He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became his Perſon well, and ſuited his Inclinations better. He employed his own Stock liberally, and what he could

borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Proviſions, Arms, and Ammunition, in order to haſten the Departure of the Fleet, endeavouring, at the ſame Time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty; for the very Name of the Enterprize, and the Fame of the Captain were ſo great, that in a few Days were liſted three hundred Soldiers, among which were *Diego de Ordaz*, principal Confident of the Governor, *Franciſco de Morla*, *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, (who has written the Hiſtory of this Conqueſt) and other Gentlemen, who ſhall be named in their proper Place.

The Time for their Departure being come, Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Day-time, the People all running to the Sight; and at Night, *Cortes*, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embrac'd him in a very friendly Manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-Side, and ſaw him embark. Small Circumſtances, and of little Importance in the Hiſtory, and which might have been omitted, if they were not neceſſary to wipe off the Imputation of that early Ingratitude, with which they have reproached *Cortes*, who ſay, that he forc'd his Way out of the Port with the Fleet; ſo *Antonio de Herrera* reports, and thoſe who copy after him, affirming, without any Manner of Reaſon, that he called the Soldiers together

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from their Houſes at Midnight, embarking with them by Stealth; and that *Diego Velaſquez* going out after him in the Morning, *Cortes* came up to him in a Boat, well armed, and gave him to underſtand, in a diſreſpectful Manner, that he no longer had Regard to his Orders. We follow *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who relates what he ſaw, and is more probable: For it is not to be imagined that a Man ſo diſcreet as *Cortes* (had he formed ſuch a Reſolution within himſelf) would ſo publickly break with *Velaſquez*, before he had got out of the Reach of his Juriſdiction; for he was obliged to touch with his Fleet in other Places of the ſame Iſland, to take in Men and Proviſions, which he wanted. And tho' we ſhould allow him guilty of this Indiſcretion, it does not ſeem likely, that in ſo ſmall a Town as was *St. Jago* at that Time, three hundred Men could be call'd from their Houſes, and embark in the Night-time, *Diego de Ordaz*, and other Creatures of the Governor being of the Number, and that there ſhould not be one among ſo many to give him an Account of ſo extraordinary a Procedure; or that thoſe who ſo narrowly obſerved his Actions, ſhould not awake at the Noiſe occaſion'd by ſo great a Hurry. A ſtrange ſort of Silence in the one, and a very extraordinary Negligence in the other! We will not deny but that *Cortes* withdrew from his Obedience to *Velaſquez*; but it was ſome time afterwards, and for the Reaſons that ſhall be ſhewn.

CHAP. XI.

CORTES *sails with the Fleet to* La Trinidad, *where he gets a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers. His Enemies obtain their Point of making* Velasquez *jealous, who uses his utmost Endeavours to stop him.*

THE Fleet sailed from the Port of *Sant Jago* in *Cuba*, the Eighteenth Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 1518; and having coasted along the North-Side of the Island, sail'd towards the East, and arrived in a few Days at the Port of *La Trinadad*, where *Cortes* had some Friends, who gave him a very kind Reception. He presently publish'd his Design, and *Juan de Escalante*, *Pedro Sanchez Farfan*, *Gonzalo Mexia*, with other considerable Persons of that Settlement offer'd to follow his Fortunes. He was join'd soon after by *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Alonso Davila*, who had been Captains in the Expedition of *Juan de Grijalva*, and by four Brothers of *Pedro de Alvarado*, *viz. Gonzalo*, *Jorge*, *Gomez*, and *Juan de Alvarado*. The Account of this Affair reaching to the Town of *Sancti Spiritus*, which was but a little distance from *La Trinidad*, there came from thence with the same Design of following the Fortune of *Cortes*, *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Roderigo Rangel*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, (a Relation of the Governor's)

of Cancer
C.S Antoni
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Pag. 52. 1st Book
GULF OF MEXICO
Tropick of Cancer
C. Florida
Lucayos I
Providence
Eleuthera
Old Straits of Bahama
Shoald
Yumeta
B. of Honda
Havana
CUBA I.
C. S. Antonio
I. Pinos
P. Trinidad
St. Spirito
P. du Prince
Baracoa
S. Jago
Gt. Camanis
C. d' Cruz
C. Mauze
Jamaica
S. Jago
Negril Pt.
Port Royal
Serranilha
Serrana
Mosquitos
Roncadore
Hacyen
St. Millan
C. Catoche
Mageras
Cozumel I
Merida
Valladolid
Campechy
Bacalal I.
Yucatan
C. Conduseda
Triangle
Bay of Campechy
Salamanca
Gulf of Honduras
Ruatan
C. Honduras
C. Camaron
C. Gratias Dios
Hondo B.
I. Providence
S. Andero
Mangla I
Moskitos
S. Georges
P. de Sal
Chiapa
Chuckabul
Coban
S. Thomas
Gratios a Dios
Valladolid
Salvador
S. Michael
Amapel
Leon
Granada
Nicaragua
Conception
Carthago
Puebla
Chagre R
Portobel
Panama
Nombre de Dios
Samblas Is.
Golden I
Gulf of Darien
Carthagena
Caledonia
Bay of Panama
S. Maria
Antiochia
S. Sebastian
Tolu
Cenu
R. de Palmas
S. Bartholome
Salina
Tampico
Panuco
Mexico
Tlascala
Cholula
Tepeaca
Xalapa
Villa ricca
S. Juan d'Ulua
Antequera
Guaxaca
MEXICO OR NEW SPAIN
S. Pedro
Guatimala
S. Juan
Acapulco
Capalita
Tecoantepec
R. Xicalapa
la Trinidad
R. de S. Michael
Gulf of Amapalla
C. Blanco
Gulf of Salinas
Nicoya
P. de Velez
C. Papanayo
THE PACIFIC OR SOUTH SEA

vernor's) and other Perſons of Diſtinction, whoſe Names will be more properly remembred when we ſhall relate their Exploits. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and a hundred Soldiers, who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was conſiderably augmented; and at the ſame Time Care was taken to buy up Proviſions, Ammunition, Arms, and ſome Horſes, *Cortes* aſſiſting all who wanted with his own Money: for he knew how to gain their Affection by an obliging Behaviour, by inſpiring them with Hopes, and by maintaining his Superiority in ſuch a Manner as to let them ſee he look'd upon himſelf at the ſame time as their Companion.

But ſcarce had he turned his Back to the Port of *Sant Jago*, when his Enemies began to cry out againſt him, talking already of his Diſobedience, after the Cuſtom of Cowards, who always attack the Abſent. *Diego Velaſquez* hearken'd to their Diſcourſe, and tho' he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, they diſcover'd in his Mind a Diſpoſition to Jealouſy, eaſy to be work'd up to an entire Diſtruſt; to which End they made uſe of an old Man, called *Juan Millan*, who, notwithſtanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of *Aſtrology*: A mad Man of another Kind, and touch'd with a Madneſs of another Species. This Man, ſet on by others, having engaged *Velaſquez* to Secrecy, acquainted him in myſterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and an unfortunate Event;

giving him to underſtand, that he had learned ſo much from the Stars. And tho' *Diego Velaſquez* was a Man of ſufficient Senſe to know the Vanity of ſuch Prognoſtications; nevertheleſs, as his Foible was Jealouſy, this had ſuch an Effect, that notwithſtanding he deſpiſed the *Aſtrologer*, he began to be affected by what he ſaid.

FROM ſuch ſlight Beginnings ſprung the firſt Reſolution, which *Diego Velaſquez* took to break with *Hernan Cortes*, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet. He diſpatch'd immediately two Couriers to *La Trinidad*, with Letters for all his Confidents, and expreſs Orders to *Franciſco Verdugo*, his Couſin, (who at that Time was chief Alcalde of the Town) to diſpoſſeſs him of his Captain-General-Ship, in a judicial Way, as ſuppoſing his Commiſſion now revoked, and another Perſon named in his Room.

CORTES was quickly informed of this unexpected Accident, and without being diſcourag'd at the Difficulty of the Remedy, ſhew'd himſelf to his Friends and Soldiers, that he might know in what Manner they reſented the Injury done to their Captain, and how far he might depend upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe, by the Judgment they paſs'd upon it. He found them all not only in his Intereſt, but reſolved to guard him from ſuch an Injury, tho' it ſhould carry them to the laſt Extremity, of taking Arms in his Defence. And tho' *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Juan Velaſ-*

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quez de Leon were leſs warm, as depending more upon the Governor, they were eaſily brought over to approve of that which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus ſecure, he went to viſit the chief Alcalde, who already knew the Grounds he had to complain. He laid before him the Danger to which he might expoſe himſelf in ſupporting ſuch a Piece of Injuſtice, by diſguſting ſo many Perſons of Diſtinction as followed him, and how much the Fury of the Soldiers was to be feared, whoſe Affections he had gained, that he might the better ſerve *Diego Velaſquez*; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him; ſpeaking in ſuch Terms, and with ſuch a kind of Reſolution, as appeared both modeſt and great. *Franciſco Verdugo* approved his Reaſons, and from a Principle of Generoſity, being unwilling to become the Inſtrument of ſuch Injuſtice, offered not only to ſuſpend the Execution of the Order, but to write to *Diego Velaſquez* to engage him to deſiſt from a Reſolution, which was now impracticable, by reaſon of the Diſguſt it gave the Soldiers, and could not be executed without very great Inconveniencies. *Diego de Ordaz*, and the reſt, who had any Intereſt in the Governor, offered to do the ſame, and wrote immediately. *Cortes* likewiſe wrote to him, complaining in a friendly Manner of his Diſtruſt, without ſhewing how far he was diſguſted, or omitting his ordinary Reſpect, as one who found himſelf obliged to

complain, but desir'd to have no Reason to consider himself as a Person injured.

CHAP. XII.

Cortes *sails from* La Trinidad *to the* Havana; *where he gets the last Reinforcement for the Fleet, and suffers a second Persecution from* Velasquez.

HAVING taken these Measures, which at that Time seemed sufficient to quiet the Mind of *Velasquez*, *Cortes* resolv'd to prosecute his Voyage; and sending *Pedro de Alvarado* by Land, with a Party of Soldiers to take care of the Horses, and raise more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he sail'd with the Fleet for the *Havana*, the most Westerly Part of the Island, where it begins to incline towards the North. The Ships parted from *La Trinidad* with a favourable Wind; but at the coming on of the Night they separated from the *Capitana*, where *Cortes* was on Board, without observing, as they ought, the Course he stood, or perceiving the Error of their Pilots, until the Light of the Day discovered it: But being now far advanced, they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the *Havana*, where the Soldiers went on Shore. They were kindly and liberally entertained by *Pedro de Barba*, at that Time Governor of the

the *Havana*, under *Velaſquez*. They were all concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, or turned back in ſearch of him; but their Diſcourſes on that Occaſion went no farther than to furniſh themſelves with Excuſes againſt his Arrival.

But perceiving that he ſtaid longer than they thought it was poſſible he could, unleſs ſome Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneaſy, and divided into various Opinions. Some were for ſending two or three Veſſels in ſearch of him amongſt the neighbouring Iſlands; others propoſed to name a Commander in Chief in his Abſence; but others thought ſuch a Propoſition unſeaſonable. However, as no body commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done. He who moſt inſiſted upon their naming a Commander, was *Diego de Ordaz*, who, as Confident of *Velaſquez*, expected to be preferred to the reſt, and thought that by the gaining of this Point, he ſhould ſtand fair to obtain that Poſt from *Velaſquez*. But at laſt, after a Diſpute of ſeven Days, *Cortes* ſafely arrived with the *Capitana*.

His Delay was occaſion'd by the Fleet's paſſing over ſome Flats which are between the Harbour of *La Trinidad* and the Cape *St. Anthony*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Iſle of Pines*, where the *Capitana*, as being the largeſt Ship, ſtruck, and was in Danger of being overſet: An Accident which gave *Cortes* no little Trouble, but withal, ſerved to raiſe his Reputation; for animating his Men, on View of the

the Danger, he gave such Orders as were necessary with great Presence of Mind, and used the utmost Expedition, without Confusion. His first Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little sandy Island hard by; by which Means he so far lightened her, as to set her afloat; after which, getting clear of the Shoal, he took her Lading on Board again, and pursu'd his Course, having thus spent the seven Days he was detain'd, much to the Advantage of his Reputation.

PEDRO de Barba lodged him in his own House, and he was received with great Acclamations by his Soldiers, whose Numbers immediately increased, several of the Inhabitants and Gentlemen entring into the Service: Among whom were *Francisco de Montejo*, who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of *Yucatan*, *Diego de Soto del Toro*, *Garci Caro*, *Juan Sedeno*, and other Persons of Distinction and Fortune, who very much added to the Reputation of the Enterprize, and compleated the Equipment of the Fleet. These Preparations took up some Days: But as *Cortes* knew not how to be idle the Time he staid there, he commanded the Artillery to be brought on Shore to be cleaned and proved, ordering the Cannoniers to observe exactly how far each Gun would carry; and as there was great Plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he directed the making a sufficient Quantity of defensive Arms. These were a kind of Quilts,

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in the Form of great Coats, which were called *Eſcaupilles:* Neceſſity inventing what Experience afterwards approved; it being found that a little Cotton, ſtitched between two Cloths, was a better Defence than Iron againſt the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*; for they loſt their Force by the weak Reſiſtance they met with, and were likewiſe hinder'd from glancing from one Man to another.

At the ſame Time he exerciſed his Soldiers in the Uſe of their Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He taught them how to form a Battalion, and file off in order; how to charge, and how to ſeize a Poſt; inſtructing them both by Voice and Example in the Rudiments of War; after the Manner of the great Captains of Antiquity, who by feigned Battles and Aſſaults, taught new Beginners the military Art. Which Practice, in Time of Peace, was in ſo much Eſteem among the *Romans*, that from this kind of Exerciſe they gave their Armies the Name of *Exercitus*.

With the like Diligence and Ardor he went on with the reſt of his Preparations: But when every one was rejoicing at the Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, *Gaſper de Garnica*, a Servant of *Velaſquez*, arrived at the *Havana*, with freſh Orders to *Pedro de Barba*, expreſly enjoining him to diſpoſſeſs *Cortes* of the Command of the Fleet, and to ſend him Priſoner with a good Convoy; telling him how highly he had been diſpleas'd

plea'd with *Francisco Verdugo* for letting him go from *La Trinidad*; and withal, giving him to understand how much he would risque in not complying with his Orders. He likewise wrote to *Diego de Ordaz*,, and to *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be assisting to *Pedro de Barba* in the Execution of his Commands. But *Cortes* was advertis'd of what was doing from several Hands, and even by *Garnica*. They warn'd him to take care of himself, since he who first entrusted this Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to discard him in a manner highly injurious to his Honour, and freed him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he stood oblig'd.

CHAP. XIII.

Cortes *resolves not to put himself in the Power of* Velasquez: *The just Motives of this Resolution: With what further pass'd till the Time of the Fleet's sailing from the* Havana.

ALTHOUGH *Cortes* was a Man of great Spirit, he could not help being shock'd with this new Attempt, which touch'd him the more sensibly, by how much the less it was expected; for he thought *Velasquez* had been satisfied with the Assurances that had been given him by all in their Answer to his first

firſt Orders, which came to *La Trinidad:* But being convinced of his Obſtinacy by theſe new Orders, he began, with leſs Temper, to think of taking care of himſelf. On the one Side, he ſaw himſelf applauded and eſteem'd by all who followed him; and on the other, degraded, and condemned to Priſon like a Criminal. He acknowledged that *Velaſquez* had expended ſome Money in fitting out the Fleet; but then the greateſt Part of the Charge was borne by himſelf and his Friends, and almoſt all the Soldiers were rais'd upon their Credit. He revolv'd in his Mind all the Circumſtances of the Injury done him; and conſidering the Slights he had hitherto ſuffered, he grew angry with himſelf, and, not without Reaſon, blam'd his own Patience; for this Virtue paſſing beyond the Bounds aſſign'd to it by Reaſon, degenerates into Meanneſs of Spirit and Inſenſibility. He was alſo concerned for the Enterprize, which he foreſaw would entirely miſcarry, if he quitted the Conduct of it; but that which moſt ſenſibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which (to thoſe who unſtand its Value) is dearer than Life itſelf.

Upon theſe Reflections, and this Occaſion of Reſentment, *Cortes* took his firſt Reſolution of breaking with *Velaſquez*. Whence it appears how little Juſtice *Antonio de Herrera* has done him, by placing this Breach in the City of *St. Jago*, at a Time when he had juſt received ſuch ſingular Obligations. But we ſhall adhere to what is related by *Bernal Diaz*

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del Caſtillo, an Author not the moſt favourable to *Cortes*; for *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* affirms, That he acknowledged his Dependency on the Governor *Velaſquez*, till upon his Arrival in *New Spain* he ſet up for himſelf, giving an Account to the Emperor of the Advances made by him in that Conqueſt.

THE Pains I have beſtowed in clearing the Character of *Cortes* from theſe early Reproaches, muſt not be thought a Digreſſion from the Subject: I am as far from flattering thoſe whom I undertake to defend, as from hating others whom I condemn: But when Truth points out the Way to juſtify the firſt Steps in a Man's Conduct, who knew how to make himſelf ſo conſiderable by his Actions, I ought to follow the Path, and to be pleaſed with diſcovering thoſe Accounts to be moſt authentick which ſerve beſt to eſtabliſh his Reputation.

I AM very ſenſible that an Hiſtorian ſhould by no Means conceal what deſerves Reproof; for Examples are as uſeful to make Vice abhorred, as to allure us to the Imitation of Virtue: But it argues a wrong Turn in an Author to put the worſt Conſtruction upon a Man's Actions; and to relate as Truth their own ill-natur'd Conjectures, is a Fault of which ſome Writers are guilty, who have read *Tacitus* with an Ambition to imitate that which in Reality is inimitable, and fancy they enter into the Spirit of that Author, when they put ſuch In-

Interpretations upon Things, as ſavour more of Spleen than Art.

But to return to our Hiſtory: *Cortes* judging that it was now no longer a Time to ſmother his Reſentment, or take too cautious Meaſures, which are generally Enemies to great Reſolutions, reſolved to provide for himſelf, and make uſe of the Force he was Maſter of as Occaſion ſhould require. To this End, before *Pedro de Barba* had determined to publiſh the Order he had againſt him, he made haſte to ſend away from the *Havana*, *Diego de Ordaz*, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected very much, on Account of the Efforts he had made to be choſen Commander in Chief in his Abſence: He therefore ordered him to embark immediately on Board one of the Veſſels, and to make the beſt of his Way to *Guanicanico*, a Settlement ſituate on the other Side of the Cape *St. Antonio*, to take in ſome Proviſions which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival, with the reſt of the Fleet. *Cortes* aſſiſted in putting this Order in Execution with his uſual Diligence and Calmneſs; and by this means got quickly rid of a Perſon who might have given ſome Oppoſition to his Deſign. He went then to viſit *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, whom he eaſily brought over to his Intereſt, being himſelf not a little diſpleaſed with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal more tractable, and of leſs Artifice than *Diego de Ordaz*.

HAVING taken theſe Precautions, he ſhewed himſelf to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Perſecution that threatned him. They all offered him their Services, agreeing in the Reſolution of aſſiſting him, but differing in the Manner of expreſſing themſelves. The Zeal of the Gentry appear'd as the natural Effect of the Obligations they had to him; but the reſt declar'd in his Behalf with ſo much Heat, as to give Uneaſineſs to the Perſon in whoſe Favour it was deſign'd: And it appear'd by their Clamours and Threats on this Occaſion, how much a good Cauſe may ſuffer in the Hands of the Multitude.

BUT *Pedro de Barba* apprehending the ill Conſequences of not appeaſing this Tumult in Time, went to *Cortes*, and appearing publickly with him, quieted all in a Moment, by declaring aloud, That he did not deſign to execute the Order of *Velaſquez*, or to have any Share in ſo great an Injuſtice. This turned all their Threats into Acclamations: And he preſently ſhewed the Sincerity of his Intentions, by publickly diſpatching *Gaſper de Garnica* with a Letter to *Velaſquez*; in which he told him, That this was not a Time to ſtop *Cortes*, who was too well attended to let himſelf be ill treated, or to be reduc'd to Obedience by Violence. He repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the Ferment his Order had occaſioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by the Commotion; and concluded his Letter with adviſing

viſing him to regain *Cortes* by Acts of Friendſhip, adding new Favours to thoſe he had already beſtow'd, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compaſs'd either by Perſuaſion or Force.

THIS Affair being over, *Cortes* employ'd all his Thoughts to haſten his Departure; which he found neceſſary, in order to quiet the Minds of the Soldiers, who where diſturb'd afreſh by the Report that *Velaſquez* reſolv'd to come in Perſon, and put his Orders in Execution. It is ſaid that he had form'd this Deſign; in which he would have run a very great Riſque, without ſucceeding: For Authority is but a weak Argument, when oppos'd both to Reaſon and Power.

CHAP. XIV.

Cortes *names the Officers of his Fleet; parts from the* Havana; *and arrives at the Iſle of* Cozumel, *where he muſters his Troops, and animates his Soldiers to the Undertaking.*

A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Veſſels which compoſed his Fleet, *Cortes* diſtributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on Board each Veſſel; and named for Captains *Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero,*

carrero, Francisco de Montejo, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Saucedo, and *Diego de Ordaz,* whom he had not sent out of the Way with an Intention to forget him, nor was he willing to disoblige him by not giving him an Employment. He reserved for himself the Command of the *Capitana*, and intrusted the Care of the Brigantine to *Gines di Nortes.* The Command of the Artillery he bestow'd upon *Francisco de Orozco*, a Soldier who had signaliz'd himself in the Wars of *Italy;* and chose for his chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, a Man of Experience in those Seas, having served in the same Quality in the two Voyages of *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* and *Juan de Grijalva.* He drew up Instructions for his Officers; wherein, with singular Foresight, he provided against Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly assisted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Success of which they expected from his divine Assistance; and *Hernan Cortes*, as the first Act of his Command, gave the Word *St. Peter*, thereby acknowledging him the Patron of this Expedition, as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered *Pedro de Alvarado* to sail for the North Coast, in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, in *Guanicanico;* and after they were joined, to wait for the Fleet

at

at Cape *St. Antonio*. The reſt of the Veſſels had Inſtructions to follow the *Capitana*; and in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to ſtand for the Iſle of *Cozumel*, diſcover'd by *Juan de Grijalva*, which was but little diſtant from the Land they were in ſearch of, and where *Cortes* propos'd to conſider and reſolve on what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Proſecution of their Enterprize.

In fine, they parted from the *Havana* the 10th of *February*, 1519. The Wind at firſt was favourable, but did not long continue ſo; for at Sun-ſet there aroſe a furious Storm, which put them in great Diſorder; and when the Night came, the Ships were obliged to ſeparate, that they might not run foul on each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that *Franciſco de Morla* commanded ſuffer'd moſt, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being loſt. He fired ſeveral Guns as a Signal of Diſtreſs, which gave extreme Concern to the reſt of the Captains; who, notwithſtanding their own Danger, were alarm'd at his, and did all that was poſſible to keep near him, ſometimes bearing up againſt Wind and Sea, and then again giving way to their Violence. But the Storm ended with the Night; and as ſoon as they had Light enough to diſtinguiſh Objects, *Cortes* was the firſt who came up with the Ship in Danger, the reſt following

his Example; and the Damage she had suffer'd was soon repair'd.

At this Time *Pedro de Alvarado*, who was gone in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, discover'd by Day-break that the same Storm had forced him into the Gulph a great Way farther than he imagined: For in order to keep clear of the Shore, he had been oblig'd to put out into the open Sea, as least dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compass and Chart, that he was fallen very far from the Course prescrib'd to him, and was at such a Distance from the Cape *St. Antonio*, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he propos'd it, as most advisable, to sail directly for the Isle of *Cozumel*. *Alvarado* left it to his own Choice; representing to him the Order of *Cortes* after such a Manner, as look'd very like dispensing with it. Hereupon they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the Island two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Design to lodge themselves in a small Town near the Coast, well known to the Captain, and some of the Soldiers, since the Voyage of *Grijalva*; but they found it deserted: For the *Indians*, upon the first Notice that the *Spaniards* were landed, abandon'd their Houses, retiring farther within the Country, with what poor Moveables they had, such light Baggage giving no Obstruction to their Flight.

PEDRO de Alvarado was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified for any Enter-

Enterprize where he received Orders, but of too little Experience to give them. He had a miſtaken Notion, that, while the Fleet was coming, any thing but Inaction would be Virtue in a Soldier; and therefore ordered his Men to march, and take a View of the inner Part of the Iſland, and at little more than a League's Diſtance they found another Town forſaken in the ſame Manner, but not ſo entirely unfurniſhed as the former; for here were ſome Cloaths and Proviſions, which the Soldiers ſeized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found divers Jewels, which ſerved to adorn it, and ſome Inſtruments for ſacrificing, made of Gold, mixed with Copper, which though of ſmall Value, they took away. This Expedition did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frighted the *Indians*, and croſs'd the Deſign of gaining their Friendſhip. *Pedro de Alvarado* grew ſenſible, (tho' too late) that he had made a falſe Step, and retired to his firſt Poſt, having taken three Priſoners, two Men and a Woman, who not being able to eſcape, ſurrender'd without any Oppoſition.

THE next Day *Cortes* arrived with the whole Fleet, having ſent to *Diego de Ordaz*, at Cape *St. Antonio*, to join him, ſuſpecting, as it prov'd, that the Storm would hinder *Alvarado* from executing his Orders; and tho' inwardly well pleaſed to find him there in Safety, he commanded the Pilot to be impri-

ſoned, and reprimanded the Captain very ſharply, as well for not having obſerved his Directions, as for his Preſumption in marching up into the Iſland, and permitting his Soldiers to plunder. This Rebuke he gave in publick, with Deſign that it might ſerve as a Warning to the reſt. He preſently called for the three Priſoners, and by *Melchior*, (the only Interpreter he had in this Voyage, his Companion being dead) informed them how much he was concerned at what the Soldiers had done; and ordering the Gold and Cloaths to be reſtored, he ſet them at Liberty, giving them ſome trifling Preſents for their Caziques, that theſe Tokens of Amity might induce them to lay aſide the Fear they had conceived.

THE *Spaniards* encamp'd on the Sea-ſide, where they reſted three Days, without marching any farther, that they might not occaſion any Diſturbance among the *Indians*. After which *Cortes* muſtered his Army, and found that it conſiſted of five hundred and eight Soldiers, ſixteen Horſe, and of Mechanicks, Pilots, and Mariners, an hundred and nine more, beſides two Chaplains, the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, and Father *Bartholomè de Olmedo*, a Regular of the Order of our Lady *de la Merced*, who accompanied *Cortes* to the End of his Expedition.

THE Muſter being over, he returned to his Quarters, attended by his Captains and principal Soldiers; and taking his Seat in the Midſt of them, he ſpoke in the following Manner:

" WHEN

" WHEN I conſider, my Friends and Com-
" panions, the good Fortune that has brought
" us together in this Iſland, the Obſtacles and
" Perſecutions we have ſurmounted, and in
" what Manner all Difficulties have been re-
" mov'd, I acknowledge the Hand of God in
" the Work we have undertaken, and pro-
" miſe myſelf Succeſs, from Beginnings ſo re-
" markably favoured by his Divine Providence.
" It is his Cauſe, and That of our King (which
" is likewiſe his) which carries us to under-
" take the Conqueſt of unknown Regions;
" and the Almighty, in fighting our Cauſe, will
" fight his own. I have no Deſign to leſſen
" the Danger of the Undertaking: We are to
" expect bloody Engagements, incredible Fa-
" tigues, and ſuch Multitudes of Enemies,
" that it will require all your Valour to ſuſtain
" their Attacks: Beſides theſe, the Want of
" Neceſſaries, Inclemencies of Weather, and
" difficult Marches, will exerciſe your Patience,
" which is accounted a ſecond-rate Valour,
" and ſhews as much Greatneſs of Spirit as the
" firſt; for very often in War, Patience brings
" that to bear, which Force could not. By
" this *Hercules* gained the Name of *Invin-*
" *cible*, and his Exploits were called *Labours*.
" You have been accuſtomed to ſuffer and to
" fight in thoſe Iſlands, which you have al-
" ready conquered: Our preſent Undertaking
" is of greater Importance; we muſt purſue
" it with anſwerable Vigour, and proportion
" our Reſolution to the Difficulty of our En-

" terprize. Antiquity has painted the Temple " of *Fame* upon the highest Part of the Moun- " tain, and her Image upon the highest Part of " the Temple; thereby giving to understand, " that to find her, even after we have gained " the Top of the Mountain, we must look " higher. We are but few in Number, but " Union multiplies Armies, and in our Agree- " ment consists our greatest Strength. We " must, my Friends, be all of one Mind to " resolve, and as one Hand to execute: Our " Interests should be the same, and the Glory " of Conquest ought to be equally shar'd " among us: The Valour of every one in par- " ticular, must establish the Security of all in " general. I am your Commander, and will " be the first to hazard my Life for the meanest " of the Soldiers. Your Care shall be to fol- " low my Example rather than my Orders; " and I can assure you that I find in myself a " Courage sufficient to undertake the Con- " quest of the whole World: My Heart even " flatters me with this Hope from I know not " what extraordinary Impulse, the most pro- " mising of all Presages. To conclude, let " our Words be succeeded by Actions; and " let not this Confidence of mine be thought " Temerity, since it is so well supported by " you, from whom I expect every Thing that " is wanting in myself."

THUS did he persuade and animate his Men; when Notice came, that some *Indians* were seen at a little Distance. And altho' they came

came in ſeparate Parties, and without Arms, *Cortes* commanded his Men to be rang'd in Order, without Beat of Drum, and to ſtand cover'd behind their Lines, till they ſaw whether they drew near, and with what Deſign.

CHAP. XV.

Cortes *pacifies the Inhabitants of* Cozumel: *He eſtabliſhes a Friendſhip with the Cazique; overthrows their Idols; begins to introduce the Goſpel; and endeavours in vain to recover ſome* Spaniards, *who were Priſoners at* Yucatan.

THE *Indians* who were in ſmall Troops, ſeemed to be conſulting among themſelves, and watching the Motions of the *Spaniards*, whoſe Poſture carrying no Appearance of Hoſtility, encourag'd the boldeſt amongſt them to draw near by little and little; and theſe receiving no ill Treatment, were followed by the more fearful, ſo that ſome of them ſoon enter'd the Camp; where they were ſo favourably received by *Cortes*, and by all, that they called to the reſt of their Companions. There came great Numbers that very Day, and mingled among the Soldiers with much Familiarity and Confidence, ſcarce diſcovering the leaſt Surprize, which ſtrongly argued that they were a People accuſtomed to converſe with Strangers. There was an Idol in

in this Island extremely reverenced by the *Barbarians*, who were continually flocking to worship it from different Provinces of the Continent; so that the Islanders of *Cozumel* had a perpetual Commerce with People of divers Nations, Habits, and Languages, which made the Arrival of the *Spaniards* appear the less strange, or at least enabled them to conceal their Surprize.

At Night they all retired to their Houses; and the next Day the principal Cazique of the Island came to visit *Cortes*, with a numerous, but ill-appointed Equipage, delivering his Embassy and Present himself. The General received him with great Joy and Courtesy; and, by his Interpreter, return'd Thanks for the Visit, with an Offer of his own Friendship, and that of his Followers. To which the Cazique replied, That he accepted the Friendship offer'd, and as a Man who knew how to preserve it. One, among the *Indians* who accompanied him, was heard to repeat after a bad Manner the Name of *Castilla*; and *Cortes*, whose Attention nothing could ever divert from his main Point, observed the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. This Remark, though it seem'd then accidental, was of the utmost Importance in facilitating the Conquest of *New Spain*, as we shall see hereafter.

The *Indians* said, that our Men very much resembled certain Prisoners who were in *Yucatan*,

catan, Natives of a Country called *Caſtilla*. Which *Cortes* no ſooner heard than he reſolv'd to ſet them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service. Upon informing himſelf more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of ſome *Indians* of the higheſt Rank, reſiding two Days Journey within the Province of *Yucatan*. *Cortes* communicated his Intention to the Cazique, and asked him whether thoſe were warlike *Indians*, and what Force would be neceſſary to reſcue the Chriſtians from Slavery. The Cazique gave him a very ready and reaſonable Anſwer, telling him the ſecureſt Way would be to ranſom them; for that endeavouring to releaſe them by Force of Arms would expoſe them to the Hazard of being maſſacred by their Maſters. *Cortes* embrac'd his Advice, with Admiration to find ſo much good Senſe and Policy in the Cazique, whoſe Rank among Princes, though inconſiderable, muſt have taught him ſome Principles of what they call Reaſon of State.

He immediately gave Orders to *Diego de Ordaz* to ſail with his Veſſel and Company to the Coaſt of *Yucatan*, by the ſhorteſt Cut from the Iſle of *Cozumel*, (which might be about four Leagues over) where he was to land the *Indians* appointed by the Cazique for this Purpoſe. They carried a Letter from *Cortes* to the Priſoners, together with ſome Trifles for their Ranſom, and *Ordaz* was commanded to ſtay eight Days for them, in which Time the *Indians* undertook to return with an Anſwer.

In

In the mean time *Cortes* marched with all his Troops in a Body to take a View of the Iſland; not that he ſaw any Neceſſity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers together, and to ſecure the Inhabitants from being inſulted. He told his Men, That they were an indigent People, unable to defend themſelves; that the Sincerity they ſhew'd, entitled them to good Treatment in Return, and that their Poverty was ſuch as gave no Temptation to Avarice: That they were not to expect from that ſmall Spot of Ground any other Wealth than a good Reputation: "And do not think "(added he) that the good Character you ſhall "acquire here will be confined within the "narrow Limits of this miſerable Iſland; for "the Concourſe of Pilgrims, who, as you "have been informed, are accuſtomed to re-"ſort hither from all Parts, will carry your "Name to diſtant Countries, where the Cha-"racter of Humanity and Juſtice will be of "ſignal Uſe to facilitate our Deſigns; and by "this means we ſhall meet with leſs Oppo-"ſition in Countries where more is to be "gained." By ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe, he kept the Soldiers within Bounds. He was always accompanied by the Cazique, and great Numbers of *Indians*, who ſupplied him with Proviſions, and exchang'd Gold for Glaſs Beads, believing that they over-reach'd the *Spaniards*, and could never purchaſe thoſe Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Diſtance from the Coaſt ſtood the Temple of the Idol, ſo much revered by the *Indians*. It was a ſquare Building of Stone, and of no contemptible Architecture. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of ſuch an horrible Aſpect as plainly diſcover'd the Original it was deſign'd to repreſent. This Circumſtance of Deformity was obſervable in all the Idols worſhipp'd by theſe miſerable People, however they otherwiſe differ'd in Make or Signification; whether it were that their Imaginations hit luckily in this reſpect, or that the Devil really appeared to them in ſome ſuch Shape; ſo that he who ſtruck out the moſt hideous Figure, was accounted the beſt Workman.

'Tis ſaid this Idol was called *Cozumel*, and gave to the Iſland the Name which it retains to this Day; but very improperly, if it be the ſame which the Devil took to himſelf; and it muſt, through Inadvertency, have been made uſe of in our Maps, being contrary to all Reaſon. The *Spaniards* found a very great Concourſe of *Indians* at the Temple, and in the midſt of them a Prieſt, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a certain Ornament, or Part of a Covering, which ſcarcely hid his Nakedneſs. He ſeemed to preach, and to perſuade them to ſomething, by a Tone and Actions extremely ridiculous; for he gave himſelf the Airs of a Preacher, with all the Gravity and Authority, of which a Man dreſſed after ſuch a Manner was capable. *Cortes* interrupted him;

him; and turning towards the Cazique, said to him, "That in order to maintain the "Friendship between them, it was absolutely "necessary for him to renounce the Worship "of his Idols, and to influence his Subjects to "do the same by his Example." After which he took him aside with his Interpreter, and shew'd him the Error of his own, and the Truth of the *Christian* Religion, by such Arguments as were accommodated to his Capacity, but so convincing, that the *Indian* was confounded, and would not venture to return any Answer, as having sufficient Understanding to be conscious of his own Ignorance. He recovered himself, and desired Leave to communicate the Affair to the Priests, with whom he left the Authority to decide absolutely in Matters of Religion. The Result of this Conference was the bringing before *Cortes* that venerable Preacher, with others of his Profession, who all made loud Outcries, which, as explain'd by the Interpreter, were Protestations on the Part of Heaven, against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the Worship of their Gods, denouncing immediate Punishment upon the Attempt. *Cortes* was incens'd at their Menaces; and the Soldiers guessing his Intention from his Looks, immediately attacked their Idol, overturning the Altar, and breaking it in Pieces, with several other Idols of a smaller Size, placed in different Niches. The *Indians* were astonished at the Sight of this Destruction; but as the Heavens were serene, and

and the expected Vengeance delayed to come down, their Adoration was chang'd into Contempt, and they began to deſpiſe ſuch ſuffering Gods. And this Paſſion was the firſt Effort that Truth made in their Hearts. The reſt of their Temples ſuffer'd the ſame Fate; but in the Chief of them (when cleans'd from the impure Fragments) the *Spaniards* built an Altar, whereon they placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, erecting at the Entrance a large Croſs, made by the Carpenters of the Fleet, with equal Zeal and Diligence. The Day following, Maſs was ſaid at that Altar, where the Cazique, accompanied by his *Indians*, aſſiſted with a Silence that looked like Devotion; and perhaps it naturally flow'd from that Reſpect which is imprinted on the Mind by our Holy Ceremonies, or was a ſupernatural Effect of the ineffable Myſtery contain'd in that Sacrifice.

THUS did *Cortes* employ his Time and his Soldiers, during the Term of eight Days, which he had allowed *Diego de Ordaz* to ſtay for the *Spaniards*, who were Priſoners in *Yucatan*; but he returned to the Iſland without bringing any Account either of them, or the *Indians* who were ſent in queſt of them. *Cortes* was highly diſpleaſed; but believing the Barbarians had deceived him by falſe Intelligence, in order to gain the Preſents he had ſent for their Ranſom, of which they ſeemed ſo extremely fond, he did not care any longer to delay his Voyage, or to impart his

his Suspicions to the Cazique. On the contrary, he took his Leave of him with great Civility, and Tokens of an entire Satisfaction, earnestly recommending to him the Cross and the Holy Image, which he left in his Power, in confidence that out of Friendship to him, he would pay them a Respect, till being more instructed in the Truth, he should be engaged to do it from better Motives.

CHAP. XVI.

Cortes *pursues his Voyage; but by an Accident finds himself obliged to return to the same Island.* Geronimo de Aguilar, *who had been Prisoner in* Yucatan, *arrives, during his Stay there, and gives an Account of his Captivity.*

CORTES put to Sea with a Design to follow the same Course which *Juan de Grijalva* had done before, and to discover the Countries from which he had retired, by too scrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had receiv'd. The Fleet had the Wind a-stern, and all were overjoy'd at the prosperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneasiness. *Juan de Escalante* fired a Gun, and the rest of the Commanders, casting their Eyes toward him, observ'd that he followed with Difficulty, and

and ſoon after tacked about, and ſtood for the Iſland. *Cortes* very well underſtood the Meaning of what he ſaw, and without ſtaying to deliberate, immediately ordered all the Fleet to follow him. *Juan de Eſcalante* ſtood in need of all his Diligence to ſave his Veſſel; for ſhe had ſprung a Leak, and took in ſo much Water, that ſhe was upon the Point of ſinking when ſhe reach'd the Shore, notwithſtanding all poſſible Expedition had been uſed in coming to his Relief. The Soldiers landed; and the Cazique preſently came down with his *Indians*, and ſeemed to be ſurprized at the ſudden Return: But when they underſtood the Reaſon, they very chearfully helped to unload the Veſſel; and afterwards aſſiſted in repairing and careening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing ſingular Service upon this Occaſion.

WHILE this was doing, *Cortes*, accompanied by the Cazique, and ſome of his Soldiers, went to viſit the Temple, and found the Croſs and Image of the Virgin *Mary* in the ſame Place where he had left them; obſerving withal, to his great Satisfaction, ſome Signs of the Veneration paid them by theſe Barbarians, in the Cleanneſs of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, beſides Flowers and Boughs with which they had adorned the Altar. *Cortes* thanked the Cazique for the Care he had taken in his Abſence. The *Indian* was pleas'd, and received the Compliments of the *Spaniards*, as if it had

been an Instance of his extraordinary Conduct, that the Image and Altar had stood undemolish'd for no longer a Time, at the most, than two or three Hours.

THE Accident that thus retarded the Voyage of *Cortes* deserves a particular Remark, being an Event that may be rank'd with Things depending on Fortune, and yet carrying the Appearance of something more than of Hazard, or Chance. They who saw the Course of their Voyage stopp'd, and a Ship ready to founder, could consider it no otherwise than as a Misfortune which very ordinarily happens: But whoever will reflect that the same Time that was necessary for the refitting the Ship, was no less necessary for the Arrival of a *Christian Captive* at that Island, who had been Prisoner in *Yucatan*, sufficiently instructed in the different Languages of those People, to supply the Want of an Interpreter, and that he was afterwards one of the principal Instruments of this Conquest, cannot attribute all this to Fortune, but must own the Hand of Providence in a very extraordinary Manner.

THEY were four Days refitting the Vessel; and on the last, as they were going to embark, they discovered, at a Distance, a Canoe, which was crossing the Gulph of *Yucatan*, and stood directly for the Island. They quickly perceived that she was filled with armed *Indians*, and were surprized at the Diligence they used to come up, without shewing any Fear of the Fleet. *Cortes* being informed of this,

this, gave Orders to *Andres de Tapia* to place himſelf in Ambuſcade near the Place at which the Canoe was to land the *Indians*, and to diſcover their Deſigns. *Andres de Tapia* took his Poſt accordingly, where he could not be ſeen: But finding they came on Shore with their Bows and Arrows, he ſuffer'd them to paſs by him a little way from the Coaſt, and then cut off their Retreat. As ſoon as the *Indians* diſcovered him, they fled; but one amongſt them ſtopp'd the reſt, and advancing three or four Paces, pronounc'd with a loud Voice, in the *Caſtilian* Tongue, that he was a Chriſtian. *Andres de Tapia* received him with open Arms; and full of Joy for his good Fortune, conducted him to the General, followed by the *Indians*, who appeared to be the Meſſengers left by *Diego de Ordaz* upon the Coaſt of *Yucatan*. The Chriſtian had nothing to cover him, except juſt enough to hide his Nakedneſs. On one of his Shoulders he bore his Bow and Quiver; and over the other was thrown a Mantle like a Cloak, in one Corner whereof was tied our Lady's Office, which he immediately ſhew'd the *Spaniards*, aſcribing to his Devotion the good Fortune of ſeeing himſelf again amongſt Chriſtians. He made his Compliments very awkardly, not being able to forbear his new Manner, or to deliver what he had to ſay, without intermixing with his *Spaniſh* ſome Terms that were not underſtood. *Cortes* careſs'd him extremely; and covering him with the Coat he had

on, informed himself in general who he was; and afterwards gave Orders to have him cloathed, and regaled. He published it among his Soldiers, as a singular Felicity both to himself and the Undertaking, that he had redeemed a Christian from Slavery, having no other Motive in View at that Time than pure Charity.

This Man was called *Jerom de Aguilar*, a Native of *Ecija*, where he had received Deacon's Orders; and, according to the Account he afterwards gave of his Adventures, had been near eight Years in that miserable Slavery. He was shipwreck'd in a Caravel upon the Flats of the *Alacranes*, as he was passing from *Darien* to the Island of *St. Domingo*, and escapeing in the Boat with twenty more in Company, was driven upon the Shore of *Yucatan*, where they were taken, and carried to a Country of *Caribee Indians*, whose Cazique immediately cull'd out the best-fed amongst them, to offer them to his Idols, and afterwards to feast on the wretched Remains of the Sacrifice. One of those who were reserved for another Occasion, by Reason of their Leanness, was this *Jerom de Aguilar*: They used him very rigorously, but at the same Time inhumanly feasted him, that he might be in better Plight to furnish a second Banquet: Amazeing Brutality! detestable to Nature, and not to be related without Horror! *Aguilar* made a Shift to escape out of a wooden Cage, in which he was confin'd; not so much to save his Life, as to seek another kind of Death:

And

And wandering ſeveral Days at a Diſtance from all Settlements, without any other Nouriſhment than what the Herbs of the Field afforded, he fell into the Hands of certain *Indians*, who preſented him to their Cazique, an Enemy to him from whom *Aguilar* had made his Eſcape. This Maſter uſed him with more Humanity, either in Contradiction to the other, or perhaps becauſe he had a real Averſion to his Cruelties. *Aguilar* ſerved him ſome Years, running through different Fortunes in this new Slavery: For at firſt he oblig'd him to work beyond his Strength; but afterwards treated him better, being ſeemingly pleas'd with his Obedience, and eſpecially with his Modeſty (of which the *Spaniard* gave ſome Proofs, more admirable, than the Tryals of it are decent to be related); for there is no Temper ſo barbarous as to be wholly void of the Regard due to Virtue. Accordingly the Cazique gave him an Employment near his Perſon, and *Aguilar* in a little Time acquir'd his Eſteem and Confidence.

This Cazique dying, recommended him to his Son, under whom he held the ſame Employment, and found a favourable Occaſion of increaſing his Credit; for the neighbouring Caziques making War upon him, he gained ſeveral Victories over them by the Valour and Conduct of *Aguilar*, who thereupon became ſo great a Favourite both of Prince and People, and was in ſo much Authority when he received the Letter from *Cortes*, that he could,

without Difficulty, treat for his Liberty, as the Recompence of his Services; and offer, as his own Gift, the Preſents which were ſent as his Ranſom.

Thus did *Aguilar* relate his Adventures; adding withal, that of the reſt of the *Spaniard* Priſoners, there remained alive only one Sailor, born at *Palos de Moguer*, called *Gonzalo Guerrero*; that he had communicated to him the Letter of *Cortes*, and endeavour'd to bring him with him, but without Effect, he having married a rich *Indian*, by whom he had three or four Children, and excuſing his Stay by his Love for them, pretending natural Affection as a Reaſon why he would not abandon thoſe deplorable Conveniencies, which with him weighed more than Honour or Religion. We do not find that any other *Spaniard*, in the whole Courſe of theſe Conqueſts, committed the like Crime; nor was the Name of this Wretch worthy to be remember'd in this Hiſtory: But being found in the Writings of others, it could not be conceal'd; and his Example ſerves to ſhew us the Weakneſs of Nature, and into what an Abyſs of Miſery a Man may fall, when God has abandon'd him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Cortes *proſecutes his Voyage, and arrives at the River of* Grijalva, *where the* Indians *oppoſe his Landing: He engages them, and diſembarks his Troops.*

THE *Spaniards* left this Iſland, the ſecond Time, on the 4th of *March*, 1519; and, without any Adventure worthy of Remark, they doubled the Point of *Catoche*, which, as we have already ſaid, is the moſt eaſterly Part of *Yucatan*; and following the Coaſt, they came to the Road of *Champaton*; where the Queſtion was put, in a Council held on that Subject, Whether they ſhould land, or not? *Cortes* inclined to the Affirmative, that he might chaſtiſe the *Indians* for the Oppoſition given to *Juan de Grijalva*, and before that, to *Franciſco Hernandez de Cordova*; and ſome Soldiers who had been preſent on both thoſe Occaſions, puſhed by a Spirit of Revenge, ſupported his Opinion with extreme Warmth: But the chief Pilot, and the reſt of his Profeſſion, oppoſed it with unanſwerable Reaſons; for the Wind that favour'd the Continuance of their Voyage, directly oppos'd their landing in that Place: Whereupon they purſued their Courſe, and arrived at the River of *Grijalva*. There was no Occaſion to deliberate here: for the good Treatment which the *Spaniards* had formerly

receiv'd from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and the Gold at that Time brought from thence, were two powerful Attractives to carry them ashore; and *Cortes* the more readily complied with the Inclinations of his Soldiers, for the Sake of maintaining Friendship with the Inhabitants, although he had no Design to stay there many Days; for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of *Motezuma*, of which *Juan de Grijalva* had the first Account in this Province; it being his Opinion, that in this Sort of Expeditions, it was adviseable to begin with attacking the Head rather than the Members, and so encounter the greatest Difficulty with his Forces entire.

As he had some Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of those who had been there before, he made a Disposition for entering the River; and leaving the larger Vessels at an Anchor, he embark'd all his Soldiers, well arm'd, in those of a smaller Size, and in the Boats; and was beginning to make the best of his Way against the Current, in the same Order as had been before observed by *Juan de Grijalva*, when he perceiv'd a considerable Number of Canoes with armed *Indians*, which covered both Sides of the River, supported by several other Bodies on the Shore. *Cortes* drew near in close Order, and commanded that none should fire, or shew the least Sign of Hostility. He follow'd in this likewise the Conduct of *Grijalva*; for he was more solicitous to use the proper Means

of

of ſucceeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Riſques they run, who value themſelves upon finding out new Ways, with no other Deſign than to be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe who went before them. The *Indians* thought to put a Stop to the *Spaniards* by their horrible Outcries: And as ſoon as they were ſo near, that what they ſaid could be diſtinguiſhed, *Jerom de Aguilar* found that he underſtood their Language, which was the ſame, or little different from that of *Yucatan*; and *Cortes* look'd upon it as the Work of Providence, that he was furniſh'd with ſo good an Interpreter. *Aguilar* informed him, that the Words he underſtood were Menaces, and that the *Indians* were inclin'd to War. Upon which *Cortes* ſtopp'd, and commanded him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. *Aguilar* executed his Orders; and returned in a very ſhort Time with an Account, that the *Indians* were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and ſo obſtinate in their Reſolution, that they had very inſolently refuſed ſo much as to hear him. *Cortes* had no Deſign to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage; but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be diſhonourable to retreat, and of dangerous Conſequence to ſuffer this Inſolence of the Barbarians to go unpuniſhed.

The Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, *Cortes* thought it moſt adviſeable

to

to lie by till Day; and disposing every Thing after the best Manner he could for the Engagement during this Suspension, he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Vessels, and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themselves with their Cotton Coats, for the better resisting of the Arrows; to which he added such other Directions as he judged necessary, without representing the Danger greater or less than it really was. He us'd all possible Precaution to secure the Success of this first Action of his Troops, well knowing of what Importance it is in all Enterprizes to begin well, but especially in War, where a happy Beginning not only gives Reputation to an Army, but raises the Courage of the Soldiers; it being peculiar to the first Action to have a secret, but powerful, Influence on the Success of those that follow.

As soon as the Day appeared, the Vessels were drawn up in a Half-Moon, whose Figure lessen'd by Degrees, till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow sufficient Room for that Disposition. Their Advance was very slow, and seemed to invite to Peace: But our Men soon discover'd the Canoes of the *Indians*, who waited their Coming in the same Order, and using the same Threats as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to stir till they were attack'd; telling them all, *That they ought to use their Shields before they employ'd their Swords, the Justice of this War depending on the Provocation to it.*

it. And being deſirous to have Reaſon ſtill more on his Side, he ſent *Aguilar* a ſecond Time to them with Offers of Peace; and to aſſure them, That this was a Fleet of their Friends, who deſign'd their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with *Juan de Grijalva*; that to refuſe them Entrance would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the *Spaniards* to open their Way by Force of Arms; and that whatſoever Damage they ſhould ſuſtain, muſt be imputed to themſelves.

The Anſwer to this ſecond Propoſal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanc'd by the Favour of the Current near enough to uſe their Arrows, of which they diſcharged ſo great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Banks of the River, that the *Spaniards* were very much embaraſs'd in their Endeavours to cover themſelves; but having received the firſt Charge according to Order, they returned it with ſo much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Paſſage free, and many of the *Indians*, intimidated by the Deaths of their Companions, flung themſelves into the River. Our Veſſels purſued their Way up the River, without further Oppoſition, and approaching the Shore on the Left Side, the Troops began to land; but in a Place ſo marſhy, and covered with Brambles, that they found themſelves engaged in a ſecond Conflict; for the *Indians*, who lay there in Ambuſh, and thoſe who eſcaped from the Engagement

gagement on the River, united in one Body, and renewed the Attack with extraordinary Fury; the great Quantity of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, which they discharged, increasing the Difficulty of the Morass: But *Hernan Cortes*, without ceasing to fight, drew up his Men; and those Ranks which were formed, making Head against the Enemy, covered the rest of the Troops who were landing.

HAVING formed his Battalion in Sight of the Enemy, whose Numbers continually increas'd, he gave Orders to Captain *Alonso Davila* to advance with an hundred Soldiers thro' the Wood, and possess himself of the Town of *Tabasco*, the Capital of that Province, not far distant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of those who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he immediately engaged that vast Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty; for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in Mud: And 'tis said, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General lost one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without missing it; so thoroughly was his Attention employ'd upon the Business of the Day.

AFTER the *Spaniards* had passed the Marsh, the *Indians* gave Way, and disappeared in an Instant among the Bushes. Their Flight was owing in part to their losing the Advantage of Ground, and in part to their Concern for the Town of *Tabasco*, upon their discovering the March

March of *Davila*, as it preſently appeared by the great Multitudes that immediately repaired to the Defence of that Place.

The Town was fortified with a kind of Wall generally uſed in the *Indies*, made of large Trunks of Trees, fixed in the Ground after the Manner of *Paliſades*, and ſo plac'd together, that there was Room between to diſcharge their Arrows. The Compaſs was round, without any Traverſes, or other Defences; and at the cloſing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Caſtles of Wood, which filled up the Paſſage, and wherein they were uſed to poſt their Centinels: A ſufficient Fortreſs againſt the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of thoſe Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been inſtructed, either by Malice or Neceſſity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Spaniards *gain the Town of* Tabasco. Cortes *sends out two hundred Men to view the Country; who are driven back by the* Indians, *but shew great Valour both in the Engagement and Retreat.*

CORTES arrived at the Town a little while before *Alonso Davila*, who had been hinder'd by some Marshes and Lakes in his Way; and having join'd his Troops to the Battalion, and distributed among them proper Instruments for breaking down the Palisades, (without giving time either to the *Indians* to recover themselves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty) gave the Signal to begin the Attack, only stopping to say, "My "Friends, here we must lodge this Night: "This is the Retreat of those whom you "have already conquered in the Field. This "weak Wall, that covers them, serves to make "them a little more bold, but does not add "to their Security: Let us follow the Victory "we have begun, before these Barbarians for-"get their Custom of flying before us, or our "longer Delay give them Time to recover "their Courage." As he ended these few words, he drew his Sword; and speaking the rest by his Example, advanc'd before them all, and inspir'd every one with a Desire of distinguishing himself.

The

THE Soldiers went on together with equal Reſolution, and turning aſide a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the Paliſade; the Intervals of which were of Service at that Time for the Diſcharge of the Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Poſt, and gave an Opportunity to thoſe who were not engaged to beat down a Part of the Paliſades. The *Spaniards* enter'd without Difficulty, becauſe the *Indians* retired to the inner part of the Town; but it was ſoon perceived that they had ſtopped up the Streets with other Paliſades, where they again made Head, but with ſmall Effect; for they were embaraſs'd by their own Numbers; and while ſome were retiring from one Work to another, they put the reſt, who would have fought, into Diſorder.

IN the Centre of the Town there was a large Space, where the *Indians* made their utmoſt Efforts; but after a ſhort Reſiſtance, turn'd their Backs, and fled into the Woods. *Cortes* would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers Time to refreſh, and the Fugitives an Opportunity to ſue for Peace, taking Counſel from their Defeat.

THUS did the *Spaniards* gain *Tabaſco*, a large Town, and well provided for Defence; for the *Indians* had ſent away all their Families and Effects, and ſtored the Place with Proviſions: So that tho' there was nothing found to gratify Avarice, there was nothing wanting

which

which Neceſſity required. Fourteen or fifteen of our Men were wounded, and amongſt them, our Hiſtorian, *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillio*, whom I follow in what he relates of himſelf; ſince it cannot be denied but that he was a valiant Soldier, and the Style of his Hiſtory ſhews, that he underſtood a Sword better than a Pen. In this Engagement died a conſiderable Number of *Indians*. Of the Wounded there was no Account, becauſe they took Care to carry them off, it being a Point of Honour amongſt them to conceal their Loſs from the Enemy.

That Night the Troops lodged in three Temples, ſituated in that Part of the Town where they laſt engaged. *Cortes* went his Rounds, and poſted his Centinels with as much Care and Exactneſs, as if he had had a Veteran Army of Enemies in view, well knowing that a Man can never be too circumſpect in War, where nothing is more dangerous than too much Security, and Caution is as neceſſary as Valour in a Commander.

The next Day the Country appeared quite deſerted, and ſo far as the Eye could reach, there was not the leaſt Sign of an Enemy, nor was there any Noiſe to be heard: The neighbouring Woods were ſearch'd, and found to be equally ſolitary. However, *Cortes* did not think it proper to march out of his Quarters. This great Stilneſs made him ſuſpicious; and his Apprehenſions were increas'd, when he underſtood that his Interpreter *Melchior*, who came

came from *Cuba*, had deſerted that very Night, leaving his Chriſtian Habit hanging on a Tree; whoſe Informations might be of ill Conſequence to him among thoſe Barbarians, as it afterwards appeared: For it was he that induc'd them to renew the War, acquainting them with the ſmall Number of our Soldiers; that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-Arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagin'd; the Dread of which had made them deſirous of Peace. But his Crime did not go long unpuniſhed; for the ſame Barbarians, whom he had perſuaded to take up Arms, being vanquiſhed a ſecond Time, reveng'd themſelves on the Adviſer of the War, by making him a miſerable Sacrifice to their Idols.

In this Uncertainty, *Cortez* reſolved to ſend out *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Franciſco de Lugo*, each with an hundred Men, by different Ways to view the Country, with Orders, if they found an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters, without engaging with unequal Numbers. This Reſolution was immediately executed: And *Franciſco de Lugo*, after little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambuſcade of numberleſs *Indians*, who attacked him on all Sides; and that with ſo much Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Battalion into a Square, facing every Way. The Number of the Enemies increaſed, and the *Spaniards* began to be tired, when it pleaſed God, that *Alvarado*, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with

a Marsh, which obliged him to turn aside, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-Arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. *Alvarado* marched strait to the Noise, and discovered the Enemies Squadrons, at a Time when our Men were in the utmost Distress. He advanced with all the Haste possible, under Cover of a Wood, and sending an *Indian* of *Cuba* to *Cortes*, to advise him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with so much Resolution, that the *Indians*, surprized at the sudden Assault, left them the Passage free, and without giving the *Spaniards* Time to break them, dispers'd of themselves.

This Succour gave *Francisco de Lugo*'s Soldiers Time to breathe; and as soon as the two Captains had joined their Troops, and doubled their Ranks, they charged another Battalion of the Enemy, who stopp'd up the Way to their Quarters, that they might execute the Orders they had received to retreat.

Here again they found Resistance; but, in fine, they made Way through them with their Swords, marching forward, tho' continually attack'd, and sometimes almost borne down; some fought while others took Breath; and whensoever they mended their pace to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the same Swiftness that they attack'd; the Motions of this great Multitude of Barbarians re-

reſembling the Rolling of the Sea, when the Waves are driven back by the Wind.

THE *Spaniards* had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when *Hernan Cortes* appeared at a Diſtance, who, upon the Notice given him by *Alvarado*, was coming to their Relief, with all the reſt of the Troops. As ſoon as the *Indians* ſpy'd him, they made a Halt, giving thoſe they purſu'd Time to march off, and continued a while looking on, either by way of Threatning, or to ſignify that they were not afraid; yet afterwards they diſperſed in ſeveral ſmall Bodies, and left the Field to their Enemies. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters, without engaging farther, becauſe it was requiſite to take care of the Wounded, being eleven in both Companies, of which Number two died, and this was reckon'd, at that Time, a very great Loſs.

CHAP. XIX.

The Spaniards *engage with a powerful Army of the* Indians *of* Tabaſco, *and the Parts adjacent. A Deſcription of their Manner of fighting, and of the Victory obtain'd by* Cortes.

SOME Priſoners were taken upon this Occaſion; and *Cortes* order'd *Jerom de Aguilar* to examine them ſeparately, to know what

it was that those *Indians* founded their Obstinacy on, and what Forces they had to support it. Their Answers differ'd in some Circumstances; but they agreed in declaring, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were summon'd to the Assistance of those of *Tabasco*; and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together to make an End of the *Spaniards* at once; of which Number the Body that had attack'd the two Companies under *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*, was but a small Detachment. This Intelligence gave *Cortes* some Uneasiness; whereupon he resolved to call his Captains together, and advise with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them *the Difficulties in which they were engaged, their small Numbers, and the great Preparations the* Indians *had made to destroy them*, without concealing the least Circumstance of what the Prisoners had declar'd. He then proceeded to consider *how far their Glory was concern'd*, representing to them *their own Valour, the Nakedness and Weakness of their Enemies, and how easily they had defeated them at* Tabasco, *at their Landing*; but above all he urged *the ill Consequences of turning their Backs upon the Threats of those Barbarians, the Report of whose Boasts might spread as far as the Country they were going to, which would be a Disgrace of so much Consequence, that, in his Opinion, they must either intirely lay aside the Enterprize of* New Spain, *or*

proceed

proceed no farther till they had either eſtabliſhed Peace, or ſubdu'd that Province; but that he only propoſed this as his Opinion, being reſolved to act as ſhould be judged the moſt convenient.

They very well knew, that this Deference of their General was no Affectation; for he always valu'd himſelf upon being fond of Advice, and ſubmitting to that Opinion which was beſt, this being one of his moſt peculiar Qualities, and a ſufficient Proof of his Prudence: For a ſuperior Underſtanding is leſs diſcover'd by forming a good Argument, than by owning the Force of another's. In this Confidence every one gave his Opinion; and they all agreed, that it was not then practicable to depart that Country, till they had either reduced or chaſtiſed the Inhabitants. Whereupon *Cortes* proceeded to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on Board, the Horſes to be landed, the Artillery to be in a Readineſs, and every Thing in Order by the next Morning, which was the Feaſt of the *Annunciation of our Lady*, memorable to this Day in that Country, on Account of the Succeſs of that Battle.

As ſoon as it was Day, he contrived that all the Men ſhould hear Maſs; and giving the Command of the Foot to *Diego de Ordaz*, he and the other Commanders mounted on Horſeback, and kept pace with the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, becauſe

the Ground was boggy and uneven. They drew near to the Place, where, according to the Information of the Priſoners, the Enemy's Forces were to rendezvous, but found no one of whom they could get the leaſt Account, till coming to a Place called *Cinthla*, little leſs than a League from their Quarters, they diſcover'd at a great Diſtance the *Indian* Army, ſo numerous, and extending ſo far, that the Eye could not reach to ſee the End of them.

We will now deſcribe the *Indian* Manner of Marching, and Engaging, which may ſerve upon all Occaſions in this Conqueſt, the Art of War being almoſt the ſame among all the Nations in *New Spain*. Moſt of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows: The Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beaſts, or of Thongs of Deer-Skin twiſted; and their Arrows, for Want of Iron, were headed with Bones ground ſharp, or Fiſh-Bones. They uſed alſo a kind of Darts, which ſometimes they threw, and at others they managed like a Pike, as Occaſion required. They had likewiſe long Swords, which they uſed with both Hands, as we do our Scimitars or Faulchions, made of Wood, in which they fixed ſharp Flints. The ſtrongeſt of them had Clubs, pointed with Flints. And there were Slingers, who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defenſive Arms, which were only uſed by Commanders and Perſons of Diſtinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, ill-fitted Breaſt-Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoiſe-Shell, adorned with

with Plates of ſuch Metal as they could get; and ſome made uſe of Gold as we do of Iron. The reſt were naked; and all of them deformed with various Dies and Colours with which they painted their Faces and Bodies; a Martial Sort of Ornament, which they made uſe of to ſtrike a Terror into their Enemies, believing that Uglineſs made them appear dreadful; as *Tacitus* relates of the *Arii*, a People in *Germany*, and remarks that an Impreſſion on the Eye is the firſt Step to Victory. Their Heads were covered with divers Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns, raiſed high to make them appear taller. They had alſo warlike Inſtruments, and Muſick, with which they animated their Soldiers, and gave Signals; as Flutes made of great Canes; Sea-Shells; and a Sort of Drums, made of the Trunk of a Tree, ſo hollowed, and made thin, that they anſwered to the Stroke of the Stick a very diſpleaſing Sound, but ſeemed well ſuited to the Ears of thoſe People.

They formed their Battalions of great Numbers, without any Order; but had Troops of Reſerve to relieve where there was Occaſion. They made their Attacks with great Fury, and terrible Outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies; a Cuſtom which ſome have accounted among the Brutalities of thoſe *Indians*, without obſerving that it has been uſed by many antient Nations, and not deſpiſed even by the *Romans*: For *Cæſar* in his *Commentaries* commends the Cries of his

own Soldiers, and blames the Silence of those of *Pompey*; and *Cato* the Elder was wont to say, that he had obtained more Victories by the Cries of the Soldiers, than by their Swords; both of them being of Opinion, that the Cries of the Soldiers proceeded from the Courage that was in the Heart. We do not argue whether this is a commendable Custom, or not; but only say, it was not so barbarous in the *Indians*, as to be without Example in other Nations. Their Armies were compos'd of Natives, and several Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Assistance of their Confederates, being led by their Caziques, or some Prime *Indian* of their Family. They were divided into Companies, whose Captains led, but could scarce govern their Men; for, when they came to engage, they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is usual among such Multitudes, being equally eager to attack, and to run away.

Such was the Soldiery of the *Indians*; and after this Manner that Army, or rather Inundation of Men, which seemed to cover all the Country, advanc'd towards the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* was sensible of the Danger he was in, yet did not despair of the Success, but encourag'd his Soldiers with a chearful Countenance; and posting them under the Shelter of a rising Ground, which covered their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do most Execution, he struck into a Wood with his fifteen Horse, advancing far into it, in order

to

to ſally out, and flank them, as Occaſion ſhould require. As ſoon as the *Indian* Army came up within a proper Diſtance, they firſt ſhot their Arrows, and then fell upon the *Spaniards* with ſo much Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows not being able to ſtop them, they were obliged to make uſe of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them; and as they preſs'd on in Throngs, the Artillery deſtroy'd whole Companies; but they were ſo obſtinate, that as ſoon as the Ball was paſs'd they cloſed again, and cover'd the Loſs they had ſuſtain'd, making loud Cries, and throwing Handfuls of Duſt into the Air, that the *Spaniards* might not ſee thoſe who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ repaired to all Parts, acquitting himſelf both as a good Captain and a valiant Soldier: But the Enemies being ſo very numerous, the *Spaniards* had enough to do to ſtand their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when *Cortes*, who could not come ſooner to the Aſſiſtance of his Men, by reaſon of ſome Brooks he had to paſs, ſally'd forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickeſt of their Battalions, and doing ſuch Execution with his Horſe, that the *Indians*, wounded, and trodden under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms, as an Obſtacle to the Swiftneſs of their Flight.

DIEGO

DIEGO DE ORDAZ was sensible that the Relief he had expected was come, by the weak Resistance of the Enemies Van-Guard, which began to face about by Reason of the Confusion in the Rear; whereupon, without Loss of Time, he advanced with his Foot, charging those who oppress'd him with so much Resolution, that he obliged them to give way, gaining the Ground as they lost it, till he came to the Place which *Cortes* and his Captains had clear'd of the Enemy. They all joined to make the last Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace; for the *Indians* were retiring in an hasty Manner, yet still making Head, and employing their missive Weapons; and this Manner of making off and withdrawing from the Fight in good Order they continu'd till the *Spaniards* came up to them, when finding themselves again attack'd, they turn'd their Backs, and instead of retreating, fled outright.

CORTES commanded his Men to halt, to avoid the shedding of more Blood, ordering only some Prisoners to be taken, whom he might make use of to set on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in View, looking on this War as no more than a Circumstance of his principal Design. Above eight hundred *Indians* remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the *Spaniards*, two Soldiers were killed, and Threescore and ten wounded.

The Enemies Army, according to the Accounts we have, conſiſted of forty thouſand Men; who, altho' they were naked Barbarians, (as ſome foreign Writers have obſerved) yet had Hands to do Miſchief: And ſhould we grant that they wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be deſtitute of Fierceneſs, of which brute Beaſts are capable.

The Action of *Tabaſco*, in ſpite of Envy, was truly worthy of the Honour afterwards done it, by building a Church in Commemoration of the Day on which the Battle was fought, dedicated to our Lady of Victory, and by giving the ſame Name to the firſt Town which the *Spaniards* built in that Province. The greateſt Share of the happy Succeſs muſt be aſcrib'd to the Valour of the Soldiers, who by their Courage and Reſolution, ſupply'd their want of Numbers, tho' they had the Advantage of engaging in good Order, againſt an Army without any Manner of Diſcipline. *Cortes* opened the Way to the Victory, by breaking through the main Body of the *Indians* with his Horſe: An Action, in which he ſhewed no leſs Conduct than Valour. Nor can it be denied but that the Horſes had their Part in this Action, the Strangeneſs of them terrifying the *Indians*; for they had never ſeen any before, and imagin'd them to be fierce Monſters, half Man and half Beaſt, as the antient Heathens, who were leſs excuſable in that Particular, fancy'd of the *Centaurs*.

Some

Some Authors relate, that St. *James* the Apoſtle fought for the *Spaniards* in this Battle upon a white Horſe; and add, that *Cortes*, out of his particular Devotion, attributed this Relief to St. *Peter*. But *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who was preſent, utterly denies the Miracle; and declares, that neither he, nor any of his Companions either ſaw or heard of any ſuch Thing. It is an Exceſs of pious Zeal to aſcribe thoſe Things to Heaven which ſucceed contrary to all Appearances, or Hope. I confeſs myſelf little inclin'd to this; but, in caſe of any extraordinary Accident, am willing to leave the immediate Operation to natural Cauſes: But it is certain, that thoſe who read the Hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies*, will meet with many Truths that look like Hyperboles, and many Events, which it was neceſſary to make miraculous, that they might appear credible.

CHAP. XX.

The Spaniards *make Peace with the Cazique of* Tabaſco, *and celebrate the Feſtival of* Palm-Sunday. *After which they reimbark, and continue their Voyage.*

THE next Day *Cortes* cauſed the Priſoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three Officers. They diſcovered in their Countenances very great Fear, expecting to be treated after the ſame cruel Manner

Manner they uſed to treat the Vanquiſh'd. But *Cortes* receiv'd them with great Courteſy; and encouraging them with a chearful Countenance, and with Embraces, ſet them at Liberty, giving them ſome trifling Preſents; and telling them at the ſame time, That *he knew both how to Conquer, and Forgive.* This Piece of Humanity had ſo good an Effect, that within a few Hours ſeveral *Indians* came to the Quarters loaden with *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, and other Proviſions, deſigning by that Preſent to facilitate the Peace which they were to propoſe from the principal Cazique of *Tabaſco.* The People who came on this Embaſſy, were of the meaneſt Sort, and made no Figure; which *Jerom de Aguilar* took Notice of, becauſe it was the Cuſtom of this Country, upon all ſuch Occaſions, to ſend Perſons of the firſt Rank, adorned with all their Finery. And altho' *Cortes* was very deſirous of Peace, he refuſed to admit their Propoſals, as not coming in due Form; and ſent back the *Indians*, without ſo much as ſeeing them; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, *That if he deſired his Friendſhip, he muſt ſend Perſons of greater Account, and after a more decent Manner, to ſolicit it.* *Cortes* was of Opinion, that theſe Formalities, which ſupport Authority, were not to be diſpenſed with, nor any Failings of Reſpect ſuffer'd in thoſe who came as Suppliants; for in ſuch ſort of Affairs, the Manner of Acting is almoſt of as much Importance as the Thing itſelf.

THE

THE Cazique acknowledg'd his Fault; and to make amends, the next Day sent thirty *Indians* of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride consisted. They were followed by a Train of *Indians*, loaded with another Present of the same Kind as before, but in greater Abundance. *Cortes* gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and severe Countenance, because he thought it proper upon this Occasion to lay aside his natural Affability. They approached with very great Submission; and having perfum'd him with their Fire-Pans, in which they burnt Gum-Anime, Gum-Copal, and other sweet Scents, (an usual Ceremony when they would express the greatest Veneration) they delivered their Embassy; which began with some frivolous Excuses for their past War, and concluded in earnest Intreaties for Peace. The General represented to them, after a very serious Manner, the just Causes he had to be displeas'd with them; to the end that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear with greater Lustre, and the Peace which he granted them prove the more welcome. The Ambassadors received it with great Applause, returning extremely satisfied, and easily enriched with those slight Baubles they so highly valu'd.

AFTERWARDS the Cazique himself came to visit *Cortes*, accompany'd by all his Officers and Relations, bringing with him a Present of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours,

and

and ſome Pieces of low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanſhip than for the Metal. He firſt made his Preſent, in order to be better received. *Cortes* careſs'd him very much; and all the Viſit paſs'd in Compliments, and Proteſtations of a reciprocal and ſincere Friendſhip, all tranſacted by the Interpreter. The *Spaniſh* Captains treated the other Prime *Indians*, who accompany'd the Cazique, after the ſame Manner; and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces, to ſupply the Want of Language. The Cazique took his Leave, appointing another Day for an Interview; and to ſhew his Sincerity, and how much he confided in the General, he immediately ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to *Tabaſco*, and aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in whatſoever they ſhould want.

The next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the ſame Attendance, and twenty *Indian* Women, well dreſs'd, after the Manner of the Country; telling *Cortes* he brought them as a Preſent, to ſerve him and his Companions, as being very skilful in dreſſing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of *Indian* Wheat, which amongſt them was always the Work of Women.

They ground the Grain between two Stones, like thoſe we uſe for Chocolate; and when reduced to Flour, they made it into Paſte, without having any Occaſion for Leaven. Then they ſpread and moulded it upon a ſort of earthen

earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire, and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly supplied that new World, to make Amends for the Want of Wheat, and is very agreeable to the Taste, and not offensive to the Stomach. Among these Women came one principal *Indian*, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptized, and received the Name of *Marina*, and proved very necessary in the Conquest, as will appear in its proper Place.

CORTES went aside with the Cazique, and the Chief of those that followed him; and by means of his Interpreter informed them, *That he was the Subject and Officer of a very powerful Monarch; and that his Intention was to make them happy, by bringing them under the Obedience of his Prince; to convert them to the true Religion, and destroy the Errors of their Idolatry.* He enforced these Proposals with his natural Eloquence, and so much Authority, that the *Indians* were persuaded, or at least inclined to Reason. The Answer they gave was, *That they should think themselves very happy in obeying a Monarch, whose Power and Greatness appear'd with such Advantage in the Valour of his Subjects.* But as to the Point of Religion, they were more reserved.

THE Defeat of their Army by such a Handful of *Spaniards*, made them doubt whether they were not assisted by some Deity superior to their own. But though they could not resolve

to

to confeſs it, their admitting the Doubt was no ſmall Step towards the Truth.

THE Pilots preſs'd the Departure of the Fleet, which, according to their Obſervations, might be endanger'd by any longer Stay in that Place. And though *Cortes* was concerned to leave thoſe People, before he had better inſtructed them on the Subject of Religion, he found himſelf obliged to think of his Voyage; and *Palm-Sunday* drawing near, he appointed that Day for embarking, ſo ordering it, that the Feſtival might be kept firſt, according to the Rites of the Church, Religion being always his firſt Care. To which End he raiſed an Altar in the Fields, which he covered with Boughs, in Form of a Chapel: A ruſtick, but decent Structure, and which was the ſecond Church of *New Spain*. At the ſame Time they embarked their Proviſions, and made all other neceſſary Preparations for their Voyage. The *Indians* aſſiſted in all Things with an officious Diligence; and the Cazique, with his Captains, attended *Cortes* with the greateſt Reſpect and Veneration. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, made uſe of this Opportunity to endeavour to bring them into the Way of Truth, purſuing what *Cortes* had ſo well begun, and taking Advantage of the good Inclinations they ſhewed in their Anſwers: But they only comply'd as Men that were ſubdu'd, being more inclin'd to receive another God, than to part with any of their own. They hearken'd with Pleaſure,

and seem'd desirous to comprehend what they heard: But Reason was no sooner admitted by the Will, than it was rejected by the Understanding. The most that the two Priests could effect at that Time, was to leave them in a good Disposition, and to perceive that it required more Time to prepare their rude and uncultivated Minds, to become sensible of their Blindness.

On *Sunday* Morning there came an infinite Number of *Indians*, from the neighbouring Parts, to see this Festival of the Christians; and the Boughs, being blest with the usual Solemnity, were distributed among the Soldiers, who all marched in Procession with equal Modesty and Devotion: A Sight worthy of better Spectators; and which appeared with the more Lustre among those Infidels, as Light from the Opposition of Darkness. However, it had some little Effect upon those Heathens; for, as *Aguilar* afterwards declar'd, they cry'd out, *This must needs be a great God, to whom such valiant Men shew so much Respect.* They hit upon the Truth, but mistook in their Way of Reasoning.

When Mass was done, *Cortes* took Leave of the Cazique, and the principal *Indians*; and having confirm'd the Peace with further Demonstrations of Friendship, he embarked, leaving those People rather obedient, than subject to the King; and as to Religion, so far in the Way to Salvation, as to desire, or, at least, not to oppose the Means of obtaining it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Cortes *proceeds on his Voyage. The Fleet arrives at* St. Juan de Ulua. *The Soldiers land. The General receives an Embaſſy from* Motezuma's *Governors. An Account who* Donna Marina *was.*

THE *Monday* after *Palm-Sunday* the *Spaniards* ſet Sail, and following the Coaſt to the Weſtward, came within Sight of the Province of *Guazacoalco*; and, without putting in at *Rio de Banderas*, or the *River of Banners*, had a View of the *Iſland of Sacrifices*, and other Places, which had before been diſcovered and forſaken by *Juan de Grijalva*; the Soldiers who had ſerved under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they had met with in that Expedition; and *Cortes* learning from the ill Succeſs of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better. At length they arriv'd at *St. Juan de Ulua* on *Maundy-Thurſday* at Noon; and the Ships had no ſooner anchored between the Iſland and the main Land, to ſhelter themſelves from the North Winds, than they ſaw two large Canoes, which in that Country are called Piraguas, coming from the neighbouring Coaſt, with ſome *Indians* in them; who drew near, without ſhewing the leaſt Concern at the Fleet, diſcovering by this Security, and

some Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and desired to be heard.

When they were within a small Distance of the Admiral, they began to speak in a strange Language, that *Aguilar* did not understand; which much troubled *Cortes*, being concern'd to want an Interpreter when he had most Occasion for him, looking upon it as a great Obstacle to his Undertaking: But Providence, that brings about its Designs, by Ways that to Men appear casual, soon relieved him in this Distress. The *Indian* Woman, whom we shall now call *Donna Marina*, was not far from *Cortes* and *Aguilar*, and guessing by their Looks what they were discoursing, and what they wanted, she told *Aguilar* in the *Yucatan* Tongue, that those *Indians* spoke the *Mexican* Language, and desired Audience of the General on the Part of the Governor of that Province. *Cortes* order'd them to come aboard; and laying aside the Uneasiness he had been under, gave Thanks to God, acknowledging it was owing to his infinite Goodness, that, contrary to all his Hopes, he had found an Instrument whereby to make himself understood in a Country which he had so earnestly desired to see.

Donna Marina, according to the Report of *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, was Daughter to the Cazique of *Guazacoalco*, one of the Provinces subject to the Emperor of *Mexico*, bordering upon that of *Tabasco*, and had, through some Accidents of Life, which are variously

variouſly reported, been carry'd away in her Youth to *Xicalango*, a ſtrong Place upon the Confines of *Yucatan*, which was kept by a *Mexican* Gariſon. There ſhe was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth, till by a freſh Misfortune, either by Sale, or being taken in War, ſhe became a Slave to the Cazique of *Tabaſco*, who made a Preſent of her to *Cortes*. In *Guazacoalco*, and in *Xicalango*, they ſpoke the general *Mexican* Language, and in *Tabaſco* that of *Yucatan*, which *Aguilar* underſtood: So that *Donna Marina* underſtood both thoſe Languages, and explained to the *Indians* in the *Mexican*, what *Aguilar* told her in that of *Yucatan*; *Cortes* making uſe of this round-about Way of Speaking by two Interpreters, till ſuch time as *Donna Marina* had learn'd *Spaniſh*, which was not long; for ſhe had a very ready Wit, and ſeveral natural Endowments, which well agreed with the Nobility of her Birth. *Antonio de Herrera* ſays ſhe was a Native of *Xaliſco*, and that ſhe was brought to *Tabaſco* from a very diſtant Country; for *Xaliſco* is on the other Sea, in the very furtheſt Part of *New Galicia*. Perhaps he took this Notion from *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*; but we cannot apprehend, why in this, and other more important Matters, he does not follow the Account of *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, whoſe Manuſcript he had at hand; for he follows and quotes him in many Parts of his Hiſtory. *Donna Marina* was ever a moſt

faithful Interpreter to *Cortes*; and he confirmed her in his Interest by Ways not altogether so decent; for he had a Son by her, called *Don Martin Cortes*, who was made a Knight of *St. Jago*, in Consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth. This was no justifiable Method to secure her Fidelity; but some will have it to have been good Policy: However, we are more apt to believe it was the ill Effect of an ungoverned Passion, notwithstanding the World is accustomed to give the specious Title of Reason of State, to that which is in Reality no other than human Weakness.

The *Indians* being admitted to the Presence of the General, acquainted him, That *Pilpatoe* and *Teutile*, the one Governor, and the other Captain-General of that Province, for the great Emperor *Motezuma*, had sent them to know of the Commander of that Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coast; and to offer him what Succour and Assistance he should stand in need of, in order to continue his Voyage. *Cortes* caress'd them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with some *Spanish* Diet and Wine; and having thus obliged them, answer'd, "That he came as a Friend to treat "concerning Matters of great Importance to "their Prince, and all his Empire; for which "Purpose he would meet the two Governors, "and hoped to receive the same good Treat-"ment from them, as others of his Nation "had

" had done the Year before." And having receiv'd ſome Information concerning the Greatneſs of *Motezuma*, his Riches, and Form of Government, he ſent them away very well contented.

The next Day in the Morning, being *Good-Friday*, the *Spaniards* all landed on the Shore neareſt the Fleet: And *Cortes* gave Orders for landing the Horſes and Artillery; and that the Soldiers, in Companies, ſhould go and cut Faſcines to entrench themſelves, not forgetting to poſt the neceſſary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a ſufficient Number of Barracks to ſhelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which at that Time was very great. The Artillery was planted ſo as to command the Country, and in a little Time they were all under Cover; for *Teutile* ſent a great Number of *Indians* with Proviſions, and Orders to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in that Work: To whom they were of great Uſe, becauſe they brought their Tools edg'd with ſharp Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixing them in the Ground, interwove with them the Boughs and Leaves of Palm-Trees, forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Eaſe and Diligence, being great Maſters in this Kind of Architecture, as having in many Places no other Houſes, and being leſs barbarous in proportioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than thoſe who build vaſt Palaces, where ſtill they cannot find ſufficient Room for their Vanity. They alſo

brought some Cotton Cloths, with which they covered the Officers Barracks, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the best of them *Cortes* ordered an Altar to be set up, on which, when adorn'd, he placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, and at the Entrance a great Cross, in order to celebrate *Easter*: For Religion was always his principal Care, and in that he was equally zealous with the Priests. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* assures us, that Mass was said on that Altar the same Day they landed; but we do not believe that Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, could be so ill instructed, and so ignorant of the Offices of the Church, as not to know that Mass could not be said on *Good-Friday*. He very often depends too much upon his Memory: But what is most to be wondered at, is, that *Antonio de Herrera* should follow him, and almost copy him in this Mistake, into which I suppose both to have fallen through Inadvertency; and I do not take Notice of it so much with a Design to censure them, as to make it a Lesson to myself to avoid the like Negligences.

Cortes understood by these *Indians*, that General *Teutile* was attended by a considerable Body of Troops, and that he was establishing the Dominion of *Motezuma* in some Places newly conquer'd of this Province, the Civil Government of which was vested in *Pilpatoe*. And the great Care they took to send Provisions, and help the *Spaniards* in building

building of their Barracks, was not without Artifice, ſo far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account of the Succeſs at *Tabaſco*, which had now ſpread over all the Country; and conſidering that the Forces with which they were provided were inferior in Strength to thoſe that had been vanquiſh'd, they had Recourſe to Preſents and Civilities, in order to oblige where they could not reſiſt: A Contrivance of Fear, which often makes thoſe generous who dare not declare themſelves Enemies.

The End *of the* First Book.

THE

THE HISTORY

Of the CONQUEST of MEXICO, *or* NEW SPAIN,

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Teutile *General of* Motezuma's *Troops, and* Pilpatoe *Governor of the Province, come to visit* Cortes *on the Part of* Motezuma. *An Account of what passed between them, and of the Painters who drew the Pictures of the* Spanish *Forces.*

THE *Spaniards* passed this Night, and the following Day, in great Tranquillity, but not the less upon their Guard; and the *Indians* were continually coming to their Quarters, some to work, and others with Provisions, which they truck'd for Baubles. Nothing extraordinary happened till *Easter*-Day in the Morning, when *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* came

came with a very great Attendance to viſit *Cortes*. He received them in equal State, ſurrounded by his Officers and Soldiers; for he thought it proper to make a Shew of Authority, when he was to treat with the Miniſters of a great Prince. The firſt Compliments being over, in which the *Mexicans* exceeded, and *Cortes* endeavour'd to temper his Gravity with Courteſy, he carried them with him to the great Barrack, which ſerved for a Chapel, it being the Hour of divine Service; ordering *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion, and recommend to the God of all other Gods the good Succeſs of his Propoſition.

Immediately Maſs was celebrated with all poſſible Solemnity. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* officiated, aſſiſted by the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, *Jerom de Aguilar*, and ſome Soldiers, who underſtood how to ſing the Service of the Church; the *Indians* looking on all the while with a kind of Aſtoniſhment, which tho' the Effect of Novelty, had the Air of Devotion. After Service was over, they returned to the General's Barrack, who entertained the two Governors at Dinner, and treated them with great Plenty and Oſtentation.

The Banquet being over, *Hernan Cortes* called his Interpreters, and, with a determin'd Air, ſaid, *That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor* Motezuma *on the Part*

Part of Don Carlos *of* Austria, *Monarch of the East, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Person and Estate, but likewise to the Welfare of all his Subjects; for performing whereof, it was necessary for him to appear before his Royal Presence, and hoped he should be admitted with all the Civility and Respect that was due to the Greatness of the King who sent him.*

Both the Governors chang'd Countenance at this Proposal, and seem'd to hear it with great Dissatisfaction: But before they returned an Answer, *Teutile* ordered a Present he had provided to be brought into the Barrack; and about twenty or thirty *Indians* came in loaded with Provisions, fine Cloths, Feathers of several Colours, and a great Box, in which were divers Pieces of Gold, curiously wrought. Having made his Present with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praised, he turned to *Cortes*, and by the Help of the same Interpreters, *prayed him to accept that small Present from two Slaves of* Motezuma's, *who had Orders to entertain such Strangers as should come upon his Coasts*; but adding, *that he must immediately think of prosecuting his Voyage, it being no easy Matter to speak with their Prince; and that they thought they did him no small Service in thus undeceiving him, before Experience made him sensible of the Difficulty of his Pretension.*

Cortes

CORTES replied, with ſome Heat, *That Kings never refuſed to hear the Embaſſies of other Princes; neither could their Miniſters, without very poſitive Orders, take upon themſelves ſo bold a Reſolution as to oppoſe it: That what belonged to them to do in this Caſe, was to acquaint* Motezuma *with his Arrival, for which he would allow ſome Time; but that they ſhould likewiſe let their Emperor know, that he came fully reſolved to ſee him, and poſitively determined not to leave his Country, with Diſhonour to the King whoſe Repreſentative he was.* This bold Reſolution of *Cortes* gave the *Indians* ſo much Uneaſineſs, that they durſt not reply; on the contrary, they earneſtly entreated him not to move from thoſe Quarters till the Return of *Motezuma*'s Anſwer, offering to ſupply him with all Things that were neceſſary for the Support of his Soldiers.

AT this Time ſome *Mexican* Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very buſy about drawing upon Cotton Cloths, (which they brought ready prim'd for that Purpoſe) the Ships, Soldiers, Arms, Artillery, Horſes, and every Thing elſe that appeared to them remarkable; of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landskips, no way contemptible, either for the Drawing or the Colours.

OUR *Bernal Diaz* enlarges too much upon the Skill of theſe Painters; for he ſaith they drew all the Captains, and that the Pieces very

very much resembled them: But let that pass as an Hyperbole less resembling the Truth; for supposing them to have understood the Art of Painting, they had too little Leisure to observe the Nicety and Tediousness that Imitation requires.

These Pictures were drawn by the Order of *Teutile*, the better to inform *Motezuma* of that extraordinary Novelty; and to make their Descriptions more intelligible, they placed some Characters here and there, with which they seemed to explain, and give the Signification of the Picture. This was their Manner of Writing; for they had not attained the Use of Letters, nor were they acquainted with those Signs or Elements, invented by other Nations, to represent Syllables, and make Words visible; but they explained themselves by their Pencils, marking down material Things with their own proper Images, and the rest with Numbers and significant Signs, disposed after such a Manner, that the Number, Sign, and Figure formed the Idea, and fully explained the Meaning; an excellent Invention, (which shewed their Capacity) like the Hieroglyphicks of the *Egyptians*, who boasted of their Wit in that which was common among the *Indians*, and which the *Mexicans* practised with such Dexterity, that they had whole Books of this Kind of Characters, and legible Pictures, in which they preserved the Remembrance of their Antiquities,

quities, and left to Poſterity the Annals of their Kings.

Cortes had Notice of what theſe Painters were doing, and went out to ſee them, not without admiring their Skill; and being informed that they were painting upon thoſe Cloths the Information which *Teutile* was to give *Motezuma* of what he had propos'd, and the Forces he had with him to make it good, he, with his uſual ſprightly Wit, preſently obſerved that thoſe dumb Images wanted Action and Motion to expreſs the Valour of his Soldiers, and therefore reſolved to exerciſe his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture. To this End he ordered them to their Arms; drew up all his Men in a Body; cauſed the Artillery to be made ready; and telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* that he would entertain them after the Manner of his Country, he mounted his Horſe, with his Captains. They firſt ran two and two after the Manner in *Spain*, and then the whole Troop being divided into two Bodies, they skirmiſh'd in a martial Manner; at which ſtrange Sight the *Indians* ſtood amaz'd, and like Men beſide themſelves: For obſerving the obedient Fierceneſs of thoſe Beaſts, they began to think there was ſomething more than natural in thoſe Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by *Cortes* the Fire-Arms diſcharged, and ſoon after the Artillery: The Confuſion and Aſtoniſhment of thoſe People increaſing (as the Noiſe was repeated

peated and augmented) with such various Effects, that some fell down upon the Ground, others began to fly, and those who had most Presence of Mind affected Admiration, to dissemble their Fear.

HERNAN CORTES encouraged them, giveing them to understand, that among the *Spaniards* these were military Diversions, as one who design'd to make his Arms appear the more formidable, by the Terror of such friendly Entertainments. It was presently perceived, that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to supply what was wanting on their Cloths. Some painted the *Spaniards* armed, and drawn up in Form; others the Horses in their Exercise and Motion. They describ'd the Artillery with Fire and Smoke, and represented the very Noise with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any one of those frightful Circumstances, that most directly regarded what their King was solicitous to know.

IN the mean time *Cortes* returned to his Barrack, with the two Governors; and after having presented them with some small *Spanish* Jewels, he prepared a Present of sundry Sorts of Curiosities to be sent from him to *Motezuma*; to which purpose he made Choice of several neat Pieces of the most solid and brightest Glass; to which he added a Holland Shirt, a Cap of Crimson Velvet, adorned with a Gold Medal representing *St. George*, and a Tapestry Chair, which the *Indians* seem'd so much

much to admire, that it was thought a fit Preſent for the Emperor. With this ſmall Shew of Liberality, which, amoug thoſe People, look'd like Magnificence, did *Hernan Cortes* ſoften the Diſagreeableneſs of his Reſolution, and took Leave of the two Governors, who remained as much oblig'd by his Civilities, as embaraſs'd by his Deſigns.

CHAP. II.

Motezuma *returns his Anſwer, with a Preſent of great Value; but refuſes to grant the Leave deſired, to go to* Mexico.

THE *Indians* halted at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Spaniſh* Quarters, to conſult (as it was afterwards judg'd) what Meaſures they ſhould take: For the Reſult of this Stop was, That *Pilpatoe* remained there to obſerve the Actions of the *Spaniards*; for which Purpoſe, a convenient Spot of Ground being fix'd upon, a great Number of Barracks were rais'd, and in a few Hours there appeared a conſiderable Village built upon the Plain. *Pilpatoe* immediately provided againſt the Suſpicion this Novelty might produce, ſending Word to *Cortes*, that he ſtay'd in that Place to take Care of his Entertainment, and the better to ſupply his Troops with Proviſions. And tho' the Artifice of the Meſſage was known, and that his Intentions were to keep within View of the Army, and watch their Motions, yet *Cortes*

connived at the Dissimulation, because he drew Advantage from it: for the *Indians* supplied him with all Necessaries; and the Fear of having their Design suspected, made them more punctual and careful.

TEUTILE proceeded to his own Quarters, and dispatched an Account to *Motezuma* of all that had happen'd upon the Coast, sending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and *Cortes*'s Present, with the utmost Diligence. For this Purpose, the Kings of *Mexico* had a great Number of Couriers distributed along all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, chosen out of the swiftest *Indians*, and bred up to it carefully from little Children. Rewards were allotted out of the publick Treasury to those who arrived first at the appointed Place: And Father *Joseph de Acosta* (a faithful Observer of the Customs of that Nation) says, That the chief School where these *Indian* Runners were bred, was the principal Temple of *Mexico*, where the Idol stood on the Top of an hundred and twenty Stone Steps, and those who first arrived at its Feet, gained the Reward: A notable Exercise to be taught in a Temple, and perhaps the least Indecency used in that miserable Place of Worship. These Couriers were relieved at every Town, like our Post-Horses; and made the greater Speed, because they succeeded one another, before they were tired; so that the first Force of the Career never ceased.

IN

In the *General Hiſtory*, we find it reported, that *Teutile* himſelf carry'd his Diſpatches and Pictures, and that he returned in ſeven Days with the Anſwer; wonderful Expedition for a General! This does not ſeem probable, the Diſtance being Sixty Leagues, the ſhorteſt way, from *Mexico* to *St. Juan de Ulua:* Nor can it eaſily be believed, that the *Mexican* Ambaſſador, whom our *Bernal Diaz* calls *Quintalbor*, came upon this Affair, or the hundred noble *Indians*, whom the Rector of *Villahermoſa* gives him for his Attendants: But this is of no great Importance. The Anſwer came in ſeven Days (a Number which all agree in); and *Teutile* brought it to the *Spaniſh* Quarters. He brought with him a Preſant from *Motezuma*, which loaded the Shoulders of an hundred *Indians*; and before he delivered his Embaſſy, he cauſed them to lay Mats made of Palm-Tree Leaves, (which they call Petates) upon the Ground, and place in Order upon them, as it were on a Buffet, the ſeveral Things of which the Preſent was compoſed.

There were various Sorts of Cotton Robes, well wove, and ſo fine, that they could not be known from Silk, but by feeling; a Quantity of Plumes, and other Curioſities made of Feathers, whoſe beautiful and natural Variety of Colours (found on rare Birds, which that Country produces) the *Indian* Artiſts knew to mix and diſpoſe with ſo much Skill, that without making uſe of artificial Colours,

or of the Pencil, they could draw Pictures, and would undertake to imitate Nature. They next produc'd a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of extraordinary Woods: Two very large Plates, of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its embossing, represented the Sun; and the other of Silver, representing the Moon: And lastly, a considerable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, some precious Stones, Collars of Gold Rings, Pendants, after their Fashion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight, in the Shape of Birds and Beasts, so curiously wrought, that notwithstanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanship seem'd to exceed it.

As soon as *Teutile* had laid all his Wealth before the *Spaniards*, he turned to *Cortes*, and making a Sign to the Interpreters, told him, *That the great Emperor* Motezuma *sent him those Things in Return for his Present, and to shew how much he valu'd his King's Friendship; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it possible at that Time, according to the present Posture of his Affairs, to grant the Permission he asked of passing forward to his Court:* The which Refusal *Teutile* endeavoured to soften, by urging the Badness of the Roads, savage *Indians*, who would take up Arms, and obstruct his March, and other Difficulties, which plainly discovered, that there was some Mystery in the Matter, and some particular Reason, why *Motezuma* would not suffer himself to be seen by the *Spaniards*.

CORTES

CORTES returned Thanks for the Preſent, with Words of much Reſpect; and anſwered *Teutile, That it was not his Intention to be wanting in his Obedience to* Motezuma; *but that it was not in his Power to go back with Diſhonour to his King, or to forbear perſiſting in his Demand, with all the Earneſtneſs to which he was obliged, by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and reſpected among the greateſt Princes of the World:* Enlarging upon this Point with ſo much Warmth and Reſolution, that the *Indians* durſt not reply, but, on the contrary, offered to importune *Motezuma* a ſecond Time. He diſmiſs'd them with another Preſent like the former, letting them know, that he would expect the King's Anſwer without moving from that Place; but that he ſhould be very much concerned, if by its Delay in coming, he ſhould be obliged to go nearer to ſolicit it.

ALL the *Spaniards* admired *Motezuma*'s Preſent; but their Reaſonings upon it were very different, and in their Diſputes, each maintain'd his own Opinion with Obſtinacy. Some pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of bettering their Fortune, promiſing themſelves mighty Advantages from ſuch a favourable Beginning; others by the Greatneſs of the Preſent, made a Judgment of *Motezuma*'s Power, and of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. Many declar'd abſolutely, that the Deſign of attempting ſo great an Affair with ſo few Men, was

a Piece of Rashness; but the greater Part justified the Valour and Constancy of their Captain, looking on the Conquest as good as made: And in fine, every one judg'd of the Success according to the Passions by which he was animated. Such are the Disputes and Reasonings of Soldiers, among whom we have stronger Proofs than elsewhere, of that Influence which the Heart has upon the Understanding. *Cortes* gave them Leave to talk on, concealing his own Sentiments till a proper Time; and to keep his People out of Idleness, which was the best Way to make them dispute less, he ordered two Vessels out, to view the Coast, and search out some Port, or Bay, where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, (for in that Place they had but little Security against the North-Winds) and some more fertile Piece of Ground, where they might be accommodated in Quarters, until the Return of *Motezuma*'s Answer; making a Pretence of the Suffering of his People in that sandy Soil, where the Heat of the Sun was doubled by Reflection, and the Persecution of the Mosquitoes, or Gnats, made even the Hours of Rest uneasy. He appointed Captain *Francisco de Montejo*, to command in this Cruize; and pick'd out the Soldiers that were to bear him Company, being those that seem'd most averse to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, steering the same Course he had done the Year before with *Grijalva*; and that he should take notice of what Towns appeared

peared along the Coaſt, without landing to view them, allotting ten Days for their Return. By which Means he executed what was proper to be done, employed thoſe that were troubleſome, and entertained the reſt with Hopes of Relief; being himſelf full of Care, and uneaſy, conſidering the Greatneſs of his Deſign, and the Smallneſs of the Means; but reſolving not to deſiſt till he could ſee the very utmoſt of the Difficulty, and ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that he diſguiſed his inward Concern with an eaſy and chearful Countenance.

CHAP. III.

Gives an Account how ill the Poſitiveneſs of Cortes *was received at* Mexico. *Who* Motezuma *was. The Greatneſs of his Empire, and the Condition his Monarchy was in at the Arrival of the* Spaniards.

THE repeated Inſtances of *Cortes* cauſed great Diſturbance at the Court of *Mexico*. *Motezuma* grew angry; and in the firſt Tranſports of his Fury, propoſed to make an End at once of thoſe Strangers, who preſumed to diſpute his Will. But afterwards, conſidering more calmly, his Courage failed him, and Anger gave Way to Sorrow and Confuſion. He ſummoned his Miniſters and Relations, with whom he held ſeveral ſecret Councils.

Publick Sacrifices were made in the Temples; and the People began to be uneasy, seeing their King so much disturb'd, and those who managed the Government in such a Fright. So that they began to talk, with very little Reserve, of the approaching Ruin of that Empire, and of the Signs and Presages, which (according to their Traditions) threatned it. But it seems necessary now, that we should shew who *Motezuma* was, and the State of his Monarchy at this Time; and why both he and his Subjects were in such a Consternation at the coming of the *Spaniards*.

The Empire of *Mexico* was then at its greatest Height of Glory, having under its Dominion almost all the Provinces and Countries which had been discovered in *North America*, which were govern'd by *Motezuma* himself, or by petty Kings, or *Caziques*, his Tributaries. The Length of it extended, from East to West, above five hundred Leagues; and the Breadth, from North to South, in some Places, was two hundred; a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the East it was bonnded by the *Atlantick* Sea, (now call'd the *North Sea*) and extended along all that great Space of Land between *Panuco* and *Yucatan:* On the West, it reached the other Sea, being wash'd by the *Asiatick* Ocean, (or *Gulph of Anian*) from *Cape Mendocino*, to the farthest Part of *New Galicia*. On the South, it stretched out farther, running along the *South-Sea*, from *Acapulco* to *Guatimala*, approaching

approaching by the Way of *Nicaragua*, to that *Iſthmus*, or narrow Neck of Land, which divides, and at the ſame time unites the two *America*'s. On the North, it extended as far *Panuco*, including that Province; but was ſtreighten'd conſiderably by the Mountains, or hilly Countries poſſeſſed by the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies*, a barbarous People, without Government or Policy, living in the Caves of the Earth, or in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon the Game they kill'd in Hunting, and the Fruits of ſuch Trees as grew wild; but ſo dexterous in the Uſe of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Craggs and Paſſes of the Mountains, that they had often withſtood the whole Power of *Mexico*; being Enemies to Subjection, ſatisfied with not being conquered, and only deſiring to preſerve their Liberty, amongſt the wild Beaſts.

This Empire grew from a ſmall Beginning to this vaſt Greatneſs, in little more than an hundred and thirty Years; for the *Mexicans*, naturally a warlike Nation, were always making way with their Arms among the reſt of the Nations which inhabited that Part of the World. They were at firſt governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers, and ſenſible of Military Honour. Afterwards they choſe a King, giving the ſupreme Dominion to the Perſon that had the greateſt Reputation for Valour, being acquainted with no other Virtue but Fortitude; or if they were acquainted with other Virtues, they look'd upon

upon them as much inferior. They always observed this Custom of chusing the greatest Captain for their King, without Regard to hereditary Succession; yet, where Merit was equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the same Wars by which their Kings acquir'd their Titles to the Crown, by little and little enlarged the Monarchy. At first, Justice supported their Arms, for the Oppression of their Neighbours forced them to an unblameable Defence; and Heaven favoured their Cause with Success: But their Power afterwards increasing, Justice was laid aside, and Tyranny took Place.

We shall see the Progress of this Nation, and the great Conquests they made, when we come to give an Account of the Succession of their Kings. *Motezuma* was the Eleventh King, (according to their painted Annals) and the Second of that Name, a singular Person, and much respected among the *Mexicans*, before he began to reign.

He was of the Royal Blood; and in his Youth followed the Wars, where he raised his Character by several heroick Actions, and gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain. He returned to the Court, somewhat puffed up with these Flatteries of Fame; and finding himself applauded and respected as the first Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of grasping the Sceptre at the next Election, and look'd upon himself, as going to be crown'd, from the Moment he conceived that Ambition.

He

He then plac'd all his Happineſs in gaining Friends; to which End he made uſe of ſome Politick Arts, a Science which ſometimes does not diſdain to be found amongſt Barbarians, but is rather apt to make People ſo, when that which is called Reaſon of State, gets the better of natural Reaſon. He affected great Obedience and Veneration towards his King, and extraordinary Modeſty and Compoſure in his Words and Actions, carefully preſerving ſuch an auſtere Gravity in his Countenance, that the *Indians* were wont to ſay, the Name of *Motezuma* became him well, which, in their Language, ſignifies a ſurly Prince, though he endeavoured to temper his Severity, making himſelf agreeable by his Liberality.

He alſo gained the Character of being very zealous for his Religion; a powerful Means to captivate thoſe who are taken with outward Shew: And to this End, he built an Apartment in the moſt frequented Temple, after the Manner of a Tribune; to which he retir'd in the Sight of all the People, and ſtaid there many Hours to receive the Devotion of popular Applauſe, or placing the Idol of his Ambition among his other Gods.

He gained ſo much Veneration by theſe outward Appearances, that when the King his Predeceſſor died, the Electors gave him their Votes unanimouſly, and the People received him with great Acclamations. He made a Shew of refuſing, ſuffering himſelf to be courted to comply with his own Deſires, and ſeemed

to

to accept the Imperial Crown with Reluctancy: But no sooner was he possess'd of it, than all that Artifice which he had forc'd upon his natural Temper ceased, and he discovered those Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.

The first Action by which he manifested his Pride, was the discarding of all those that belonged to the Royal Family, which, till his Time, was composed of midling People and Plebeians; and under Colour of greater Decency, he made his Nobles serve him, even in the meanest Employments of his House. He shewed himself but seldom to his Subjects, and only when it was necessary to his Ministers and Domesticks, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majesty; and for those who obtain'd Leave to come into his Presence, he invented new Obeysances and Ceremonies, inlarging Respect almost to Adoration. He persuaded himself, that he had the entire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exercised great Cruelties, that he might put it out of Doubt with others.

He imposed new Taxes, without any publick Necessity, at a certain Rate on each Head of that vast Number of Subjects; and exacted it with so much Rigour, that even poor Beggars were not exempted from the miserable Oppression, bringing to his Treasury some mean Things, which were received, and then thrown away before their Faces.

These

THESE violent Practices made his People fear him: But as it is uſual for Fear and Hatred to go together, ſome Provinces rebelled; to reduce which, he went himſelf in Perſon; being too jealous of his Authority, to ſuffer any other to command his Armies. But tho' this was his Motive, it cannot be denied, that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit. None were able to reſiſt his Power, and maintain their Rebellion, except the Provinces of *Mechoacan*, *Tlaſcala*, and *Tebeaca*. And he was wont to ſay, "He did not ſubdue them, be- "cauſe he wanted thoſe Enemies to ſupply "him with Captives for the Sacrifices of his "Gods." A Tyrant, even in Toleration, and in forbearing Puniſhment.

HE had reigned fourteen Years when *Cortes* arrived on his Coaſts; and the laſt of them was full of Preſages, horrible, and wonderful Portents, which God either ordain'd, or permitted, to depreſs the Spirits of thoſe fierce People, and render leſs impoſſible to the *Spaniards*, that great Work which his Providence was about to accompliſh, by Means ſo diſproportion'd to it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of the several Prodigies and Signs, that were seen in Mexico *before the Arrival of* Cortes; *from which the* Indians *apprehended, that the Ruin of their Empire drew near.*

AFTER knowing who *Motezuma* was, and the Condition and Greatness of his Empire, it remains that we enquire into the Motives which caus'd that Prince and his Ministers so obstinately to oppose the pressing Instance made by *Hernan Cortez:* The first Effort of the Devil, and the first Difficulty in the Undertaking.

UPON the first Account which came to *Mexico* of the *Spaniards*, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived upon the Coast the Year before, several Prodigies began to appear in this Country, and very astonishing Signs, which did in a Manner assure *Motezuma*, that the Ruin of his Empire drew near; and greatly terrified and discouraged both him and his Subjects.

A frightful Comet appeared many Nights, in Shape like a Pyramid, which beginning at Midnight, advanc'd slowly to the highest Part of the Heavens, where it vanish'd at the Presence of the Sun.

AFTERWARDS, at Mid-day, another Comet, or Exhalation, was seen to rise in the West, like a fiery Serpent with three Heads, which ran

ran ſwiftly till it vaniſhed in the Eaſt, ſcattering an infinite Number of Sparks that dy'd in the Air.

THE great Lake of *Mexico* overflowed its Banks, and with an extraordinary Impetuoſity drowned the Country, carrying away ſeveral Houſes, with a ſort of Waves that look'd as if it had boil'd up; tho' there were no Floods or ſtormy Weather, to which they could attribute the Motion of the Waters.

ONE of their Temples took Fire of itſelf, without their being able to find out the Cauſe of its burning, or Means to extinguiſh the Flame. The very Stones were ſeen to burn, and the whole Pile was reduced to little more than Aſhes. Lamentable Voices were heard in the Air from different Parts, which foretold the End of that Monarchy; and the ſame Prognoſtications were repeated in the Anſwers of their Idols; the Devil pronouncing by them what he could conjecture of thoſe Natural Cauſes which were in Motion, or as much as the God of Nature permitted him to know, who ſometimes torments him by making him the Inſtrument of Truth.

SEVERAL Monſters of horrible Deformity, and never ſeen before, were brought to the King; which, in his Opinion, had a Meaning, and denoted great Misfortunes. And if Monſters were ſo called by the Ancients, becauſe they believ'd them to demonſtrate ſomething, it was not ſtrange that they ſhould be held for Preſages among thoſe barbarous People, where Ignorance

Ignorance and Superstition went hand-in-hand.

HISTORIES make mention of two very remarkable Accidents, which extremely troubled the Mind of *Motezuma*; nor are they fit to be omitted, since they found Credit with Father *Joseph de Acosta*, *Juan Botero*, and other Writers of Judgment and Authority.

CERTAIN Fishermen near the Lake of *Mexico* took a monstrous Fowl, of extraordinary Make and Bigness; and accounting it valuable for its Novelty, presented the same to the King. Its Deformity was horrible; and on the Head of it was a shining Plate like a Looking-Glass, from which the Sun reflected a sort of dim and melancholy Light. *Motezuma* observed it, and drawing nearer to take a better View, saw within it a Representation of the Night, amidst whose Obscurity were seen some Parts of the Heaven covered with Stars, and so distinctly represented, that he turned his Eyes to the Sun, as one doubtful of the Day: And upon fixing his Eyes the second Time on that seeming Glass, he spy'd, instead of Night, what gave him greater Astonishment; for there appeared to his Sight an Army of Men, that came from the East, making a terrible Slaughter of his Subjects. He assembled the Magicians and Priests to consult about this Prodigy, and the Bird stood immoveable, till many of them had tried the same Experiment; but then it got away,

and

and vaniſh'd in their Preſence, leaving them another Preſage in its aſtoniſhing Flight.

Some few Days after a Country-man came to the Palace, one that was reputed a plain downright Man, who earneſtly, and with myſterious Inſtances, preſs'd to have Audience of the King. He was introduced to his Preſence after various Conſultations, and having made his Obeyſance, without any Manner of Diſturbance or Fear, he ſpoke to him in his ruſtick Idiom, but with a kind of Freedom and Eloquence, which denoted a more than natural Tranſport, or that the Words were not his own, but were inſpired, ſaying, "Yeſterday in the Evening, Sir, being upon my "Farm, employed in the Improvement of "my Land, I ſaw an Eagle of an extraordinary Magnitude, which ſtoop'd down furiouſly upon me, and, catching me between "his Claws, carried me a great Way through "the Air, till he ſet me down near a ſpacious "Cave, in which was a Man in Royal Robes, "ſleeping amongſt Diverſity of Flowers and "Perfumes, with a ſcented Compoſition burning in his Hand. I drew ſomewhat nearer, "and ſaw your Likeneſs, or, perhaps, it was "yourſelf; for I cannot affirm, though, in my "own Opinion, I had my Senſes free. I was "going to withdraw, being afraid, and full of "Awe; but an imperious Voice ſtopp'd and "frighted me a-new, commanding me to take "the burning Perfume out of your Hand, and "apply it to a Part of your Thigh that was un-

" covered. I refuſed as long as I could, to com-
" mit ſuch a Piece of Wickedneſs: But the
" ſame Voice, in a terrible Tone, forced me to
" obey. Upon which, Sir, without being able
" to reſiſt, and being made bold by Fear, I ap-
" plied the burning Compoſition to your Thigh,
" and you endured the burning, without
" waking, or making any Motion. I ſhould
" have thought you dead, but that your quiet
" Breathing ſhewed you to be alive. Then
" that ſame Voice (which ſeemed to be formed
" in the Air) ſaid to me; Thus ſleeps thy
" King, given up to his Delights and Vanities,
" when he has the Anger of his Gods upon
" him, and ſo many Enemies, who come from
" the other Part of the World to deſtroy his
" Monarchy and Religion. Bid him awake,
" and prevent, if he can, the Miſeries and
" Calamities that threaten him. Scarce had
" he pronounced theſe Words, which I bear
" deeply imprinted in my Memory, when the
" Eagle took me up in his Talons, and ſet
" me down on my Land, without the leaſt
" Hurt. And thus do I perform what the Gods
" have enjoin'd me. Awake, Sir; for your
" Pride and Cruelty have provok'd them:
" I ſay again, Awake, or take Care how you
" ſleep, ſince the burning Sting of your Con-
" ſcience does not rouſe you; nor can you be
" now ignorant, that the Cries of your People
" have reached Heaven before they came to
" your Ears."

THESE,

THESE, or ſuch like Words, did the Peaſant deliver, or the Spirit, that ſpoke in him; and turning his Back, went off with ſo much Reſolution, that no Man durſt ſtop him. *Motezuma* (in the firſt Heat of his Paſſion) was going to order him to be killed; but was prevented by a new Pain he felt in his Thigh, where he, and all preſent, beheld the Mark of a freſh Burning: Which ſtrange Sight aſtoniſh'd and made him thoughtful; but he ſtill reſolved to puniſh the Peaſant, by making him a Sacrifice to appeaſe his Gods. Theſe Admonitions proceeded from the Devil, and ſhew'd the Wickedneſs of their Original, as ſerving rather to provoke a Man to Anger and Obſtinacy, than to bring him to the Knowledge of his Fault.

BOTH theſe Accidents might be improv'd by the Credulity of thoſe barbarous People, from whoſe Relation the *Spaniards* had them in this Manner: But we do not think it unlikely, that the Devil ſhould make uſe of ſuch-like Artifices to ſet *Motezuma* againſt the *Spaniards*, and put what Stops he could to the Introduction of the Goſpel. For it is certain, that he might (ſuppoſing the Divine Permiſſion in the Uſe of his Knowledge) feign or form thoſe Phantoms and monſtrous Apparitions, or even make viſible Bodies, by condenſing the Air with a Mixture of the other Elements; or, as often happens, he might impoſe upon the Senſes, and delude the Imagination; of which we have ſome Examples

in the holy Scriptures, which make what we find of the ſame Nature in prophane Hiſtory the more credible.

THESE and other portentous Signs, which were ſeen at *Mexico*, and in ſeveral Parts of the Empire, had ſo broke the Spirit of *Motezuma*, and ſo diſmayed the wiſe Men of his Council, that when the ſecond Embaſſy from *Cortes* arrived, they concluded, that all the Ruin and Calamity with which they were threatned, was come upon them.

THE Conſultations were long, and the Opinions various. Some thought, that thoſe armed Strangers, coming at a Time of ſo many Prodigies, ought to be treated as Enemies; for that either to admit, or truſt them, would be oppoſing the Will of their Gods, who had given them ſo many Warnings before the Blow, in order to avoid it. Others, either out of Moderation or Fear, endeavoured to obſtruct the Breach, by extolling the Valour of the Strangers, the Force of their Arms, and the Fierceneſs of their Horſes, and by calling to Mind the Deſtruction and Slaughter they made at *Tabaſco* (of which War they had immediate Notice); and tho' they did not believe they were immortal, as the Fear of the Vanquiſhed had given out, yet did they not think them Creatures of their own Species, but found in them ſome Reſemblance of their Gods, by their Management of Lightning, with which (in their Opinion) they fought, and by the Command they had over thoſe Brutes,

Brutes, who underſtood their Orders, and fought for them.

MOTEZUMA heard them; and taking a Medium between both Opinions, reſolved abſolutely to deny *Cortes* the Liberty he asked of coming to his Court; to command him immediately to leave thoſe Coaſts; and at the ſame Time, to ſend him another Preſent like the former, which might engage him to obey. But in caſe this ſhould not be ſufficient, he reſolved to uſe Force, and raiſe a powerful Army of ſuch Men, that there ſhould be no Cauſe to fear the like ill Succeſs as at *Tabaſco*. For he was ſenſible he ought not to deſpiſe the ſmall Number of thoſe Strangers, in whoſe prodigious Arms, and extraordinary Valour, there appeared ſo many Advantages; eſpecially, conſidering that they arrived upon his Coaſts at ſo calamitous a Time, and when ſo many frightful Prodigies had appeared, as ſeemed to magnify their Forces, ſince they merited the Care and Warning of his Gods.

CHAP. V.

Francisco de Montejo *returns, having discovered the Town of* Quiabislan. Motezuma's *Ambassadors arrive, and depart dissatisfy'd. The Soldiers incline to Mutiny; and* Hernan Cortes *makes use of Artifice to appease them.*

WHILST *Motezuma*'s Court was taken up with these melancholy Reflections, *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to get some Account of the Country; to gain the good Will of the *Indians* who repaired to his Quarters; and to encourage his Men, by inspiring them with the same great Hopes of which his own Heart assured him. At that Time *Francisco de Montejo* returned from his Voyage, having coasted some Leagues up to the Northward, and discovered a Town called *Quiabislan*, situate in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place, or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be secure under the Shelter of some great Rocks, which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was distant from *St. Juan de Ulua*, about twelve Leagues: And *Hernan Cortes* began to consider it as a commodious Situation whither to remove his Quarters: But before he came to a Resolution, *Motezuma*'s Answer arrived.

TEUTILE, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little Perfuming Pans,

Pans, burning Gum-Copal. After the ſmoaking Courteſies and Ceremonies were over, *Teutile* ordered *Motezuma*'s Preſent to be produced; which was ſomewhat leſs, but of the ſame Sort of Goods, and Pieces of Gold, as came with the firſt Embaſſy: All that they brought particular, was four green Stones, like Emeralds, called *Chalcuites*; and *Teutile* told *Cortes*, with a great deal of Gravity, *That* Motezuma *had ſent thoſe Stones to the King of* Spain, *as Jewels of an ineſtimable Value:* An Enhancement to which little Regard was to be had, where Glaſs was held in ſuch great Eſteem.

The Embaſſy was deliver'd in Terms reſolute and diſagreeable; and the Concluſion of it was, to diſmiſs the Gueſts without giving them Leave to reply. Night drew on; and when *Cortes* was beginning his Anſwer, the *Ave-Maria* Bell rung in that Barrack that ſerved for a Chapel: He kneel'd down to ſay that Prayer; as did all the reſt, after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion ſtruck the *Indians* with Admiration; and *Teutile* asked *Donna Marina* the Meaning of that Ceremony. *Cortes* underſtood their Queſtion, and thought it proper to make uſe of this Opportunity, while he ſatisfy'd their Curioſity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* took it in hand, and endeavoured to ſuit his Diſcourſe to their Blindneſs, giving them ſome ſmall Light into the Myſteries of our Faith. He labour'd, with

all his Eloquence, to make them understand that there was but One God, the Beginning and End of all Things: That in their Idols they adored the Devil, the mortal Enemy of Mankind; enforcing what he said with Reasons easy to be comprehended: Which the *Indians* listened to with some sort of Attention, as if they were sensible of the Force of Truth.

HERNAN CORTES made use of this Beginning to return to his Answer; telling *Teutile*, *That one of the Points of his Embassy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendship to* Motezuma, *was, the Obligation Christian Princes lay under to oppose the Errors of Idolatry, and the Desire he had to instruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, the invisible Tyrant of his Kingdoms, who, in Reality, held him a Slave and Vassal, tho' in outward Appearance, he was so powerful a Monarch. And that coming from such remote Countries, upon Affairs of such a Nature, and in the Name of another more powerful King, he could not omit making new Efforts, and persevering in his Instances, till he should prevail to be heard, since he came on a peaceable Account, as appeared by the small Number of his Men, from which no Suspicion could be had of greater Designs.*

No sooner had *Teutile* heard the Resolution of *Cortes*, than he started up hastily, and with some

ſome ſort of Impatience, between Anger and Confuſion, told him, *That hitherto the Great* Motezuma *had treated him courteouſly, and as a Gueſt; but that if he continued obſtinate, it would be his own Fault, if he found himſelf treated as an Enemy*; and without ſtaying for an Anſwer, or ſo much as taking Leave, he turned his Back, and went haſtily out of his Preſence, followed by *Pilpatoe*, and the reſt of his Attendants. *Hernan Cortes* was a little ſtartled at *Teutile*'s Proceeding; but ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that turning to his People, with a Smile in his Countenance, "We ſhall ſee, ſays he, where this Challenge "will end: We know already how their "Armies fight. And, for the moſt part, "Threats are the Effects of Fear." And whilſt they were gathering up the Preſent, he went on, "Theſe Barbarians ſhall not ſo "eaſily prevail with a *Spaniſh* Army to retire; "for thoſe Riches are to be looked upon as "Gifts out of Seaſon, which ſhew more "Weakneſs than Generoſity." Thus did he lay hold of all Opportunities, to encourage his People. And that very Night (tho' it was not likely that the *Mexicans* ſhould have prepared an Army to aſſault the Quarters) the Guards were doubled, and *Cortes* provided againſt what was poſſible, as againſt a Thing certain: For Commanders can never be too careful; and many times, that which ſeems ſuperfluous, is found to have been neceſſary.

As soon as the Day appeared, the *Spaniards* found a considerable Alteration, which gave them some Disturbance; for those *Indians* which inhabited *Pilpatoe*'s Cabbins, were retired within the Land, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: Those also kept away, who used to bring them Provisions from the neighbouring Towns. These Beginnings of Want (rather feared, than suffered) were sufficient to make some Soldiers begin to be uneasy, looking upon it as very unadvised to think of settling in that Country; which Murmuring some Friends of *Diego Velasquez* took Advantage of, and began to exclaim, saying, without any Reserve, in common Discourse, *That* Hernan Cortes *had a Mind to destroy them, and ambitiously pursued a Design, without a Force any Way proportioned to the Undertaking: That the Intention of maintaining themselves with such a Handful of People in the Dominions of so powerful a Prince, would be judged rash by all Men: And that it was now necessary, that they should all demand to return to the Island of* Cuba, *in order to refit the Fleet, and reinforce the Army, and so proceed upon that Undertaking with better Foundation.*

Hernan Cortes was informed of this, and making use of his Friends and Confidents to enquire into the Opinions of the rest of his Men, he found that he had on his Side the most in Number, and those of greatest Consequence. Upon which Security he suffered himself

himſelf to be ſeen by the Malecontents. *Diego de Ordaz* was the Perſon who ſpoke in the Name of all, and, with ſome Heat and Diſreſpect, told him, " That the Soldiers were " very much diſſatisfy'd, and upon the Point " of laying aſide all Obedience, having been " informed that he deſigned to proſecute his " Undertaking; and that no body could blame " them, for neither the Number of Men, " Condition of the Ships, nor their Reſerve " of Proviſions or Ammunitions of War, had " any Proportion with the Intent of con- " quering ſo large and powerful an Empire: " That no Man had ſo little Value for him- " ſelf, as to ſubmit to be caſt away to pleaſe " another's Humour; and that therefore it was " now Time to conſider of returning to the " Iſland of *Cuba*, to the end that *Diego* " *Velaſquez* might reinforce his Fleet, and " take this difficult Enterprize in hand upon " better Advice, and with a greater Force."

HERNAN CORTES heard him, without ſeeming offended, as he had Reaſon to be, both with the Propoſal, and the Manner of delivering it; on the contrary, he anſwered him, (with a compoſed Voice and Countenance) " That he was obliged to him for the " Advice, not having known before, that the " Soldiers were diſſatisfied; but on the con- " trary, believing that they were well con- " tented, and deſirous to go on; becauſe in " that Enterprize, none could complain of " *Fortune*, but thoſe that were weary of being " happy:

" happy: That a Voyage, without any ill Ac-
" cidents, favoured by the Winds and Seas;
" Successes, such as their Hearts could wish;
" the remarkable Favours of Heaven at *Co-*
" *zumel*; a Victory at *Tabasco*; and in that
" Country where they were, so much good
" Treatment and Prosperity; were not Presages
" that could any Ways discourage them.
" That neither was it very much for their
" Honour to desist from their Undertaking,
" before they had seen the Face of Danger,
" especially, considering that Difficulties are
" wont to appear greatest at a Distance, and
" the Phantoms of Danger, form'd by the
" Imagination, to vanish upon the Experiment:
" But that if the Soldiers were already so de-
" jected and fearful, (as he said) it would be
" a Folly to depend upon them in so difficult
" an Enterprize; and therefore he would im-
" mediately consider of returning to the
" Island of *Cuba*, as had been proposed;
" confessing, that the Knowledge of the pri-
" vate Soldiers being possessed with that Opi-
" nion, did not make such an Impression upon
" him, as it did to find it supported by the
" Advice of his Friends." With these and other such like Words, he at that Time frustrated the Intention of those prejudiced Mutineers, without leaving them any thing to desire, till the Time should come to undeceive them; and with this artful Dissimulation (sometimes allow'd to Prudence) he made believe, that he receded from his Resolution, that he might be the better able to pursue it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Return to Cuba *is given out. The Soldiers, prepar'd by* Cortes, *exclaim againſt it. The Cazique of* Zempoala *ſues for his Friendſhip, and, in fine, they make a Settlement.*

SOON after *Diego de Ordaz* and thoſe of his Party had left *Hernan Cortes*, he gave Directions for publiſhing the Return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, and ordered the Captains ſhould embark with their reſpective Companies on Board the Veſſels under their Command, and be ready to ſail the next Day early in the Morning: But no ſooner was this Reſolution publiſhed among the Soldiers, than thoſe who were underhand gained to the General's Intereſt began to ſtir in the Affair, crying out, "That *Hernan Cortes* had deceived "them, making them believe they were go- "ing to ſettle in that Country; that they "would not leave it, or return to the Iſland "of *Cuba*; adding, that if he had a Mind to "retire, he might do it with all ſuch as were "willing to follow him, for they could not "want ſome Gentleman that would take upon "him to command them."

THIS Clamour increaſed ſo much, and was ſo well managed, that it brought over many of thoſe that had been forced or perſuaded into the contrary Faction; and *Cortes*'s Friends, who

who had ſtirred up one Part, were obliged to appeaſe the other. They commended their Reſolution, and offered to ſpeak to *Cortes* to ſuſpend the Execution of his Order. And before this Ardour cooled, they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whoſe Preſence they acquainted him loudly, " That " the Troops were upon the Point to mutiny " on account of his Order: They complain'd, " (or pretended that others did) that he had " taken ſuch a Reſolution, without the Ad- " vice of his Captains. They laid it before " him as a Diſhonour, unbecoming *Spaniards*, " to quit their Undertaking on the firſt Ru- " mours of Difficulty, and to turn their Backs " before they had drawn their Swords. They " put him in Mind of what had happened to " *Juan de Grijalva*; that all the Diſpleaſure " of *Diego de Velaſquez* was occaſioned by " his not making a Settlement in the Coun- " try he had diſcover'd, and maintaining him- " ſelf there; for which he was treated as a " puſilanimous Perſon, and the Command " of the Fleet taken from him." In fine, they told him what he himſelf had dictated, to which he hearkened as to ſomething new: And ſuffering himſelf to be entreated and perſuaded to do what he deſired, gave them to underſtand that he was convinced; ſaying, " That he had been miſinformed; that ſome " of thoſe who were principally concerned in " the Succeſs of the Undertaking, (whom he " did not name, to make the greater Myſtery

" of

" of the Matter) had aſſured him that all the " Men cried out to leave that Country, and " return to the Iſland of *Cuba*; and that as he " had taken that Reſolution (contrary to his " own Opinion) to pleaſe his Soldiers, he " would ſtay with much more Satisfaction, " ſince he found them better diſpoſed for the " Service of the King, and to diſcharge the " Duty of good *Spaniards*; but that they muſt " know he would not have Soldiers againſt " their Inclinations; nor was War an Em- " ployment for thoſe that were forced to it; " that whoſoever thought fit to return to the " Iſland of *Cuba*, might freely do it, and that " he would immediately give Orders to pro- " vide Veſſels and Proviſions for the Voyage " of all ſuch as were not willing to follow " his Fortune." This Reſolution met with great Applauſe: Their Acclamations rung with the Name of *Cortes:* The Air was filled with Noiſe and Hats, after the Manner Soldiers are wont to expreſs their Satisfaction: Some made Rejoicings, becauſe they were truly glad, and others, that they might not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who were ſo. No one was ſo bold at that Time as to contradict the making of a Settlement; nor did thoſe very Men, who had been the Malecontents, know what to ſay for themſelves; but *Hernan Cortes* admitted of ſuch Excuſes as they could offer, without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity.

It happened at this Time, that whilſt *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, with another Soldier, ſtood Centinels at one of the Avenues, they ſpy'd five *Indians* coming along the Way next the Sea-ſide, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too ſmall a Number to alarm the Army, they ſuffer'd them to draw near. They ſtopp'd at a little Diſtance, and gave to underſtand by Signs, that they came in a peaceable Manner with a Meſſage to their General. *Bernal Diaz* went with them, leaving his Comrade in the ſame Poſt to obſerve if any more followed. *Hernan Cortes* received them very civilly, ordering them to be well treated before he heard them, and obſerved they ſeem'd to be of another Nation, as differing from the *Mexicans* in their Habit, though like them they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them; which, tho' they were of Gold, were a Deformity, inſtead of an Ornament. Their Language alſo had a different Sound; and when *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* came, it appear'd that they ſpoke in a different Idiom; and it was good Luck that one of them underſtood, and with ſome Difficulty pronounced the *Mexican* Language; by which Means, and not without ſome Trouble, it was known, that they were ſent by the Lord of *Zempoala* (a Province at a ſmall Diſtance) to viſit the Captain of thoſe valiant People, whoſe great Actions in the Province of *Tabaſco* had reached his Ears; and who being a warlike Prince, and a Friend

to

to brave Men, deſired his Friendſhip. They dwelt much upon the Value their Maſter had for good Soldiers, as doubting leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould attribute that to his Fear, which ſounded better as the Effect of his Inclination.

HERNAN CORTES very courteouſly accepted of the good Correſpondence and Friendſhip propoſed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking on it as a particular Favour of Heaven, that this Embaſſy ſhould arrive at a Time when the *Mexicans* had left him, of whom he was now grown jealous; and he put the more Value upon it, when he underſtood that the Province of *Zempoala* was in the Road to that Place, which *Franciſco de Montejo* diſcovered from the Coaſt, whither he was then thinking to remove his Quarters. He asked the *Indians* ſome Queſtions, to inform himſelf of the Inclination and Forces of the Cazique. One of them was, How it came to paſs, that they (being ſo near) had ſo long delayed coming with this Propoſal? To which they anſwered, that the *Zempoalans* had nothing to do where the *Mexicans* appeared, whoſe Cruelties were ill brooked by thoſe of their Nation.

THIS Intelligence was not diſagreeable to *Hernan Cortes*; and diving farther into it with ſome Curioſity, he underſtood that *Motezuma* was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny; that many of his People were ſubject out of Fear; and that ſome Provinces thereabouts were deſirous to free themſelves

ſelves from his Yoke. This made his Power appear the leſs formidable; and ſeveral Sorts of Stratagems came into his Head, and Means of increaſing his Army, which gave him ſome ſort of confuſed Encouragement. The firſt that occurr'd, was to take Part with thoſe afflicted People; believing that it would not be difficult or unreaſonable to form a Party againſt a Tyrant among his own Rebels. So he reaſoned then; and it fell out afterwards accordingly, it being verified (by a freſh Example) in the Ruin of that ſo powerful an Empire, that the greateſt Strength of a King conſiſts in the Love of his Subjects. He immediately diſmiſs'd thoſe *Indians* with ſome Gifts, in Token of Friendſhip; and told them he would ſoon go and pay their Maſter a Viſit, in order to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip with him, and give him the Aſſiſtance he ſhould ſtand in need of.

His Intent was to paſs through that Province, and take a View of *Quiabiſſan*, where he had Thoughts of fixing his firſt Settlement, by Reaſon of the good Account he had received of its Fertility. But it behov'd him for other Ends, which he was then contriving how to compaſs, to haſten the forming of his ſmall Corporation in his preſent Quarters, altho' he was to remove the Troops to a Place more commodious. He communicated his Reſolution with thoſe Captains that were his Confidents; and having, by this Means, ſmoothed the Way for what he had to propoſe, he aſſembled the Men, in order to name the Officers

cers of the new Government. At which ſhort Conference, thoſe who were acquainted with the Mind of *Cortes* prevailed; and *Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Franciſco de Montejo*, were appointed Alcaldes; *Alonſo Davila*, *Pedro* and *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, were Regidores: The chief Alguazil and Procurator-General were *Juan de Eſcalante* and *Franciſco Alvarez Chico*. They alſo appointed the Clerk of the Council, with other inferior Officers; and having taken the accuſtomed Oath, to obſerve Reaſon and Juſtice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Poſſeſſion, and began to exerciſe their Employments with the uſual Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which Title it preſerved in the Place where it was afterwards fixed, being called *Villa Rica*, in Remembrance of the Gold they had ſeen in that Country, and *de la Vera Cruz*, in Acknowledgment of their landing there on the Friday of the *Croſs*, or *Good-Friday*.

HERNAN CORTES was preſent at theſe Functions, as a private Perſon among the other Members of the Colony: And tho' he could not eaſily lay aſide that Kind of Superiority which is wont to conſiſt in the Reſpect which others pay, he endeavoured to ſupport the Authority of theſe new Miniſters, and by his Reſpect, to induce the reſt to obey them. And this Deference was founded upon Policy; for

the Authority of that Council, and the Submission of the rest to them, was of much Consequence to him, to the End that the Sword of Justice, and the Voice of the People, might supply the Defect of the Military Jurisdiction, which resided in him by Delegation from *Diego Velasquez*, and which being, in Truth, revoked, stood then upon too weak a Foundation to enter upon so difficult an Enterprize: A Defect which gave him great Uneasiness; for he was obliged to dissemble it with those that obeyed him, and was embaras's'd in his Resolutions by the Difficulty of making himself be obeyed.

CHAP. VII.

Hernan Cortes (*in the first Council which was held at* Vera Cruz) *renounces the Title of Captain-General, which he held from* Diego Velasquez; *and the Town and People elect him anew.*

THE next Day in the Morning the Council met, under Colour of consulting about some Points relating to the Preservation and Augmentation of their new Settlement; and soon after *Hernan Cortes* desired Admittance to propose an Affair which concern'd the publick Good. The Council rose up to receive him; and he paying his Respects

to

to the Magiſtracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the firſt Regidor, and ſpoke to this Effect:

" GENTLEMEN, Since, by the Mercy of " God, we have in this Council the Perſon of " the King repreſented, before whom we " ought to diſcover our Hearts, and ſpeak " without Artifice, which is the Vaſſalage, " whereby Men of Worth pay him the " greateſt Acknowledgment; I come into " your Preſence, as if I appeared before his, " without any other Deſign than that of his " Service, in which ſort of Zeal you will " allow me the Ambition of not being your " inferior. You are conſidering of the Means " of eſtabliſhing this new Corporation, happy " already in depending upon your Direction. " It will not be foreign to the Purpoſe to in- " form you of my Thoughts and Reſolutions, " that you may not act upon any ill-founded " Suppoſitions, which may oblige you to rea- " ſon afreſh, and take new Meaſures. This " Town, which to Day begins to riſe under " the Protection of your Government, is " founded in a Country unknown, and full " of People, where we have already ſeen " ſome Signs of Reſiſtance, ſufficient to make " us believe that we are engaged in a difficult " Enterprize, where we ſhall ſtand in equal " Need of Heads and Hands, and where very " often Force muſt proſecute what Prudence " has begun. This is not a Time to depend " on politick Maxims, or unarmed Counſels.

" Your first Care must be to preserve this
" Army, which serves you as a Rampart; and
" 'tis my first Duty to inform you, that it is
" not at this Time in such a Condition as is
" requisite to entrust it with our Security, and
" our Hopes. You very well know, that I
" command this Army without any other
" Commission than the Nomination of *Diego*
" *Velasquez*, which was recall'd soon after
" it had been given me. I lay aside the In-
" jury he did me by his Mistrust, as being an-
" other Affair: But I cannot deny, that the
" Military Power, which we so much stand
" in need of, is lodged at present in me, con-
" trary to the Inclination of him who gave it,
" and is founded on a Title of Force, which
" cannot conceal the Weakness of its Origi-
" nal. The Soldiers are not ignorant of this
" Defect; nor am I so mean-spirited, as to
" desire to command them with such Autho-
" rity as may be questioned: Nor is the En-
" terprize we have in hand of such a Nature,
" as to enter upon it with an Army that rather
" obeys out of mere Custom, than for that it
" is under a reasonable Obligation of Obedi-
" ence. It belongs to you, Gentlemen, to
" apply the Remedy to this Inconveniency;
" and the Council which at present represents
" our King, may, in his Royal Name, pro-
" vide for the Government of his Troops, by
" chusing a Person free from such Excepti-
" ons. There are several Persons in this Army
" capable of that Employment; and it will
" be

" be much better fill'd by any one that may
" have another Sort of Authority, or that may
" receive it at your Hands. I, from this Mo-
" ment, quit all Right which could accrue to
" me by Poſſeſſion, and deliver back into your
" Hands the Title by which I have held it,
" that you may conſider with all poſſible Free-
" dom upon your Election: And I can aſſure
" you, that all my Ambition ſolely tends to
" promote the good Succeſs of our Under-
" taking; and that I can, without offering the
" leaſt Violence to myſelf, take up a Pike
" with that Hand which lays down the Staff
" of a General; for if in War Men learn to
" command by obeying, there are alſo Caſes,
" in which the having commanded, teaches
" them how to obey."

This ſaid, he threw upon the Table the Commiſſion given him by *Diego Velaſquez*, kiſs'd the Truncheon, and delivering it into the Hands of the Alcaldes, retired to his Barrack. It is likely he was under no Uneaſineſs about the Event; for he had ſo diſpoſed Matters, that he adventured but little in the Reſolution. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that his Manner of Acting was handſome and noble, and no leſs commendable the Art he uſed to ſupply the Defects in his Authority, which had neither Force nor Decency. The Council ſoon reſolv'd upon the Election; for ſome had conſidered what they were to propoſe, and others had nothing to reply. They all voted to admit the Reſignation of *Cortes*; but that

he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again; the Town giving him his Commission in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until His Majesty should otherwise order. And they resolved to communicate the new Election to the People, either to see how they would receive it, or that indeed they were satisfied of their Approbation.

The People were called together by the Voice of a Crier; and the Renunciation of *Cortes* being published, with the Resolution of the Council, they received such Applause as was either hoped or concerted. Great were the Acclamations and Rejoicings of the People. Some congratulated the Council on their good Election: Others demanded *Cortes*, as if he had been denied them: And if any were of a contrary Opinion, they either dissembled their Discontent by Acclamations, or took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcaldes and Regidores went with the greatest Part of those Soldiers (who now represented the Town's People) to the Quarters of *Hernan Cortes*; and acquainted him, That the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* had, in the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, with the Consent and Approbation of the Inhabitants, in full Council, chosen and appointed him General of the Army of *New Spain*; and, in case it were necessary, did require and command him to take upon him that Post, it being convenient for

for the publick Good of the Town, and his Majeſty's greater Service.

Hernan Cortes accepted the new Command (for ſo he called it, to diſtinguiſh it even by Name from that which he had renounced) with great Civility and Reſpect; and now began to govern the Troops with another kind of inward Security, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers.

The Dependents upon *Diego Velaſquez* reſented this Alteration in a very indiſcreet Manner; for they could not diſguiſe their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to ſtem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and caſt Reflections on *Cortes*, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of thoſe that were deceived, and did not know it. And as Scandal has its hidden Poiſon, and an unknown Power over thoſe that hear it, it ſpread in their Converſations, where there wanted not ſome who hearken'd to, and endeavoured to foment it. *Hernan Cortes* did all that lay in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience in the Beginning, apprehending it might draw away thoſe who were already diſquieted, or put thoſe into a Commotion who were eaſily ſtirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience avail'd, and that gentle Means produc'd contrary Effects, rendring the Evil worſe; and therefore reſolv'd to make uſe of Severity, which generally has the beſt

Effect

Effect upon the Insolent. He ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be seized, publickly carried on board the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action struck a great Terror into the Troops; and it was his Design to improve it, declaring in a very positive and resolute Manner, that he seized them as seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; and that he would proceed against them, and make them pay for their Obstinacy with the Loss of their Heads. In which Severity, whether real or affected, he continu'd some Days, without proceeding to the Rigor of Justice: For he rather desired to reform, than to punish them. At first he suffer'd none to go near them; but afterwards, by way of Toleration, permitted it, artfully making use of this Permission, for some of his Confidents to endeavour to reduce, and bring them to Reason; which in Time they compassed, he suffering himself to be pacified so effectually, that he made them his Friends; and they stood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Spaniards *march; and the Fleet ſails for* Quiabiſlan. *They enter* Zempoala *in their Way; where the Cazique makes them welcome; and they receive freſh Accounts of the Tyrannies of* Motezuma.

AS ſoon as the aforeſaid Perſons were impriſon'd, *Pedro de Alvarado* marched out with a hundred Men, to view the Country, and bring in ſome Proviſions; for now they began to be ſenſible of the Want of thoſe *Indians* who uſed to provide the Army. He was ordered to commit no Hoſtility, nor make uſe of Arms but in caſe of Neceſſity, being obliged to it by Provocation, or for Defence; and he had the good Luck to perform his Commiſſion in that Manner, with little Trouble. At a ſmall Diſtance he came into ſome Villages or Hamlets, the Inhabitants whereof had fled into the Woods, but had left the Houſes well provided with Hens, *Indian* Corn, and other Proviſions; and without doing any Damage, either to the Houſes or their Furniture, the Soldiers took what they had Occaſion for, as acquired by the Right of Neceſſity, and returned to their Quarters, loaded and well pleaſed.

HERNAN CORTES immediately diſpoſed his March, as he had reſolved, and the Ships ſet ſail for the Bay of *Quiabiſlan*; he followed

lowed by Land, taking the Road of *Zempoala*, keeping the Coaſt on his Right Hand, and ſending out a Party before to diſcover the Country, providing very conſiderately againſt all Accidents which might happen in a Country, where Security might be blamed as a Neglect.

In few Hours they reached the River of *Zempoala* (near which they afterwards founded the City of *Vera Cruz*); and by reaſon it run deep, they were obliged to get ſome Canoes, and other Veſſels of Fiſhermen, which they found upon the Shore, in which the Soldiers paſſed over, making their Horſes ſwim. Having overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at ſome Houſes in the Diſtrict of *Zempoala* (as they afterwards found); and they took it for no good Sign to find them, not only forſaken by the *Indians*, but alſo without either Furniture or Proviſions, betokening a premeditated and concerted Flight; only they left in their Temples ſeveral Idols, with various Inſtruments, or Knives made of Flint, and ſome miſerable Remains of human Victims, ſcattered upon the Ground, which at the ſame Time mov'd Compaſſion and Horror.

Here they firſt ſaw (and not without Admiration) the *Mexican* Books, of which we have already made mention. There were three or four of them in the Temples, which, 'twas thought, contained the Rites of their Religion, made of a long Skin, or varniſhed Cloth, which they folded in equal Doublings,

ſo

ſo that every Fold made a Leaf, and all together made up the Volume, like ours to the outward Appearance; and for the Letters, they were written or painted with that kind of Imagery or Cyphers uſed by the Painters of *Teutile*.

The Army was preſently quartered in the beſt Houſes, and paſſed the Night ſomewhat incommodiouſly, their Arms in Readineſs, with Centinels at a convenient Diſtance, by whoſe Watching the reſt might take ſome Repoſe.

The next Day they continu'd their March in the ſame Order, along the moſt beaten Road, which turned off to the Weſtward, leading further from the Shore; and during the whole Morning they ſaw no Perſon, of whom to gain Intelligence, nor aught but a ſuſpicious Solitude, whoſe very Silence made a Noiſe in their Imagination, and gave them Uneaſineſs; till entring into ſome very delightful Meadows, they diſcovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in ſearch of *Hernan Cortes*, with a Preſent of Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, ſent him by the Cazique of *Zempoala*, very earneſtly intreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he ſhould be more plentifully entertained. By theſe *Indians* he underſtood that the Cazique's Reſidence was at a Town one Sun's Diſtance from that Place, which, in their Language, ſignified the ſame as one Day's March;

March; for they understood not the Division of Leagues, but measured Distance by Suns, counting the Time, and not the Paces. *Cortes* dismiss'd six of the *Indians* with many Thanks for the Present and Offers, keeping the other six to shew him the Way, and ask them some Questions; for he was not entirely satisfied of the Sincerity of this kind Treatment, which being so much unlooked for, seemed the less to be depended on.

That Night they halted in a small Village thin of Inhabitants, who seemed very desirous to entertain the *Spaniards* well: And by the Behaviour of these People, the *Spaniards* judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Conjectures, tho' Hope is wont to be easily flatter'd. In the Morning the Army moved towards *Zempoala*, following the Guides with all necessary Caution; and at the Declining of the Day (being now near the Town) there came twenty *Indians* forth to receive *Cortes*, well dressed after their Fashion; who, after having pay'd their Respects, said, "That their Cazique did "not come out with them, by reason of "some Impediment, but had sent them to "pay that Respect on his Part, being very "desirous to be acquainted with such valiant "Guests, and to receive into his Friendship "those whom he already held in his Esteem."

The Town was large, and of a beautiful Prospect, situated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, descending from some Moun-

Mountains at a ſmall Diſtance, which were covered with Trees, and of an eaſy Aſcent. The Buildings were of Stone, cover'd or adorn'd with a ſort of Lime, very white and ſhining, and made a pleaſing and noble View at a Diſtance, inſomuch that one of the Scouts, who was ſent before, return'd in Haſte, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Miſtake made much Sport in the Army, and, perhaps, ſome did then believe it, who afterwards made a Jeſt of his Credulity.

The Squares and Streets were filled with an innumerable Company of People, who came to ſee the Entry, without any Arms that could give the leaſt Suſpicion, or any other Noiſe than that which uſually proceeds from a Multitude. The Cazique came out to the Gate of his Palace; and his Impediment was a monſtrous Fatneſs, which oppreſſed and diſfigured him. He drew near with ſome Difficulty, ſupported by the Arms of ſome noble *Indians*, to whom he ſeem'd to owe all his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine Cotton thrown over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which alſo he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed notably well. It was neceſſary for *Cortes* to put a Stop to the Laughing of the Soldiers; and as he had Occaſion to put a Reſtraint upon himſelf, he gave the Order with a forced Severity. But as ſoon as the Cazique began his Diſcourſe, receiving

Cortes

Cortes with his Arms, and welcoming the rest of the Captains, he shewed his good Sense, and by the Ears gained the Respect of the Eyes. He spoke to the Purpose, and shortned his Compliments with Respect and Discretion, bidding *Cortes* retire to Rest after his Journey, and quarter his Men; after which he would visit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leisure about their common Interests.

He had provided Quarters in square Courts, which had many great Chambers, where they were all accommodated with sufficient Room, and plentifully furnish'd with all they had Occasion for. After which the Cazique made way for his Visit, by sending a Present of Jewels of Gold, and other Curiosities, to the Value of about two thousand Peso's, and soon after came himself, with a splendid Attendance, in a Chair carried on the Shoulders of the Chief of his Family; and at that Time, it is likely, the strongest had that Honour. *Cortes* went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains; and giving him the Precedence, and the Right Hand, retired with him and his Interpreters; for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witnesses. After having made him the usual Speech, about the Intent of his Coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry, he proceeded to tell him, " That one of the De-
" signs of those valiant Troops was to redress
" Wrongs, punish Violence, and to take Part
" with

" with Juſtice and Reaſon." He touch'd upon that Point on purpoſe to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of *Motezuma*, and to diſcover what Advantages might be expected from his Reſentments and Indignation, of which he had been before inform'd. It preſently appear'd, by the Change of his Countenance, that *Cortes* had touched the Sore; and before he reſolved on an Anſwer, he began to ſigh, as one who found a Difficulty in making his Complaints; but at length, his Reſentment prevailing, he broke out into Lamentations of his Unhappineſs, and told him, " That all the " Caziques of the neighbouring Countries, " were under a miſerable and ſhameful Slavery, " groaning under the Oppreſſions and Ty- " rannies of *Motezuma*, without ſufficient " Force to free themſelves, or Courage to " think on a Remedy; that he cauſed himſelf " to be ſerved and adored by his Subjects like " one of his Gods; and would have his Vio- " lencies and Injuries reverenced like the De- " crees of Heaven: But that it was not his De- " ſign to engage him in adventuring to ſupport " them, becauſe *Motezuma* was too powerful " and ſtrong for him to reſolve (on ſo ſlight an " Obligation) to declare himſelf his Enemy; " nor would it be agreeable to the Laws of " Civility, to pretend to his Friendſhip, by " ſelling at ſo great a Price the ſmall Service " he had done him."

HERNAN CORTES endeavoured to comfort him, letting him know, " That he ſhould

" little regard *Motezuma*'s Power, having " Heaven on his side, and a natural Predo- " minancy over Tyrants; but that he was " obliged to pass on to *Quiabislan*, where " the Oppressed and Needy should find him, " and all who, having Reason on their side, " stood in need of his Arms; which he might " communicate to his Friends and Confede- " rates; assuring them all, that *Motezuma* " wou'd cease to oppress them, or should not " be able to do it, while he undertook their " Defence." With this they both took Leave, and *Hernan Cortes* prepared for his March, having gained the good Will of that Cazique, and being extremely well pleased within himself at the better Prospect of his Designs, which from being only distant Views of the Imagination, began now to appear possible.

CHAP. IX.

The Spaniards *pursue their March from* Zempoala *to* Quiabislan. *An Account of what passed at their Entrance into that Town; where they have fresh Accounts of the Uneasiness of those Provinces; and they take six of* Motezuma's *Officers.*

WHEN the Army was ready to march, they found four hundred *Indians* of Burden provided to carry their Cloak-Bags and Provisions, and to help to conduct the Artillery;

Artillery; which was a very great Eaſe to the Soldiers, and was look'd upon as an extraordinary Reſpect of the Cazique, till they underſtood from *Donna Marina*, that among thoſe Lords of Vaſſals, it was a common Practice to aſſiſt the Armies of their Allies with that ſort of human Baggage-Carriers, which in their Language they called *Tamenes*, who were wont to travel five or ſix Leagues with two or three Arobas, that is, with half or three Quarters of an hundred Weight. The Country they were entering upon, was pleaſant and delightful, Part of it covered with great Trees, and the reſt cultivated with Grain; at which Sight, the *Spaniards* went on chearful and diverted, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching over ſo plentiful a Country. At the Setting of the Sun, they found themſelves near a little Village, unpeopled, where they ſtaid to avoid the Inconveniency of entring *Quiabiſlan* by Night, at which they arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

The Buildings appeared at a large Diſtance on an Eminence of Rocks, which ſeemed to ſerve inſtead of a Wall; a Situation naturally ſtrong, the Avenues narrow, and ſteep, which they found without Defence, yet they entered with Difficulty. The Cazique had retired with the Inhabitants, to diſcover at a Diſtance the Intentions of our People; and the Troops took Poſſeſſion of the Town, without finding any Perſon from whom they could get the leaſt Information, till coming to a Square,

where the *Indians* had their Temples, there came out fourteen or fifteen *Indians* to meet them, handsomely dressed after their Manner, with Abundance of Cringes and Perfumes, continuing their Civilities for some Time, with an affected Security and Civility, endeavouring to cover their Fear with Respect; Affections of the Mind, which are pretty much alike in Appearance, and hard to be distinguished. *Hernan Cortes* encouraged them by his Caresses, and gave them some Beads of blue and green Glass; a sort of Coin, which, for the Effects it had, began to be valued even among those who were acquainted with it. With which good Treatment, they recovered from the Fright which they had dissembled, and gave him to understand, "That their Cazique had "withdrawn himself to avoid beginning a "War, by putting himself on his Defence, "or adventuring his Person, by trusting to "armed Troops which he did not know; and "with such an Example, it was impossible "to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who "were under less Obligations to run them-"selves into Danger; an Action to which "they had offered themselves, as being People "of better Fashion and greater Boldness: But "that as soon as the rest should be sensible of "the Goodness of such honourable Guests, "they would immediately return to their "Houses, and account it a very great Hap-"piness to serve and obey them." *Hernan Cortes* gave them fresh Assurances; and whilst they

they were gone with this News, he gave ſtrict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the *Indians* well; who very ſoon ſhewed the Confidence they had in the *Spaniards*; for that very Night ſome Families returned, and in a little Time the Town was filled with its Inhabitants.

Some Time after, the Cazique returned, bringing with him the Cazique of *Zempoala* to befriend him. They both came in Litters on the Shoulders of Men. He of *Zempoala*, made a handſome Excuſe for his Neighbour; and after ſome ſhort Diſcourſe, they themſelves introduced their Complaints of *Motezuma*, recounting, with great Warmth, and ſometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties, the Miſery of their People, and Deſpair of their Nobles; to which the Cazique of *Zempoala* added, as the utmoſt Aggravation; "This "Monſter is ſo proud and fierce, that beſides "his impoveriſhing us by his Tributes, and "raiſing his Wealth out of our Calamities, "he likewiſe invades the Houſes of his Sub- "jects, taking forcibly from us both our Wives "and Daughters, ſtaining with their Blood the "Altars of his Gods, after having ſacrificed "them firſt to other Uſes more cruel and "leſs honeſt."

Hernan Cortes endeavoured to comfort and diſpoſe them for entring into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three *In-*

dians came in, who seemed in a very great Fright; and whispering the Caziques in the Ears, put them into such Confusion, that they rose up, losing both Courage and Colour, and went hastily away, without so much as taking Leave, or making an end of their Discourse. The Cause of their Disorder was presently known; for six Officers, or Royal Commissaries, such as went about the Kingdom to gather *Motezuma*'s Tributes, were seen passing before the *Spaniards* Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers, and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a sufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers, who moving great Fans, made of Feathers, fann'd their Masters to cool them, or officiously shaded them from the Sun, as Occasion required. *Cortes* went out to the Gate with his Captains to see them; and they passed on, without paying him any Respect, and with Countenances that shewed Indignation and Contempt; which Pride provoked some of the Soldiers so much, that they would have chastised them, had they not been withheld by *Cortes*, who rested satisfied at that Time with sending *Donna Marina*, with a sufficient Guard, to inform herself of what they were doing.

By this Means it was understood, that after having seated themselves in the Town-House, they summoned the Caziques to appear before them, and reprimanded them publickly, and very sharply, for their Boldness in admitting Strangers

Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, beſides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demanded twenty *Indians* to ſacrifice to their Gods, as a Satisfaction and Atonement for ſuch a Crime.

HERNAN CORTES ſent for the two Caziques by ſome Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noiſe, to bring them to his Preſence; when letting them know that he ſaw into their moſt hidden Deſigns, (the better to authorize his Propoſal by this Myſtery) he told them, "That he was well acquainted "with the Violence of thoſe Commiſſaries, "who, without any other Crime than their "having admitted his Troops, endeavoured "to impoſe on them new Tributes of human "Blood; that it was no Time then for ſuch "Abominations, nor would he ſuffer them "to obey ſuch horrid Commands in his Pre"ſence; but, on the contrary, he ordered "them, without fail, to call their People "about them, and ſeize the Commiſſaries, "and leave him to maintain what they had "done by his Advice."

THE Caziques were at a ſtand, refuſing to execute ſuch a bold Command, as being grown mean-ſpirited by conſtant Uſe of enduring the Smart, and even honouring the Rod: But *Hernan Cortes* repeated his Order with ſo much Reſolution, that they immediately went to execute it; and with great Applauſe of the *Indians*, they ſeized the Miniſters of *Mote-*

zuma, whom they put in a kind of Pillories, used in their Prisons, and very incommodious; for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmost with their Shoulders to ease the Weight, for the Freedom of breathing. It was very pleasant to see how proud and elevated the Caziques returned to give an Account of their noble Action; for they thought to execute them the same Day, and make them suffer the Punishments assigned by their Laws to Traytors; and seeing that would not be permitted, they desired at least to sacrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace.

The Prisoners being secured with a sufficient Number of *Spanish* Soldiers, *Hernan Cortes* retired to his Quarters, and began to consider within himself, what was to be done in order to disentangle himself from the Difficulty he was in, by having promised to protect and defend the Caziques from the Danger that threatned them for having obeyed him; for he was not willing absolutely to break with *Motezuma*, but still to keep him in Suspence. He did not altogether approve the taking up Arms in Defence of Subjects complaining against their King, nor the laying aside his Designs of Peace, without new Provocation, or a better Pretence. On the other hand, he considered it as a very necessary Point, to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, that he might have their Assistance in case he should happen to want them. In fine, he held

it

it moſt convenient to manage with *Motezuma*, by making a Merit of ſuſpending the Effects of that Diſreſpect, and ſhewing, that at leaſt he would ſo far diſcharge himſelf, as not to foment the Sedition, or draw any Advantage from it to himſelf, until the laſt Neceſſity.

The Reſult of theſe Reflections (which kept him ſome Hours awake) was, to ſend at Midnight for two of the Priſoners with all poſſible Privacy: And after receiving them courteouſly, he told them, (as one deſirous they ſhould not attribute to him what they had ſuffered) "That he had ſent for them in order "to ſet them at Liberty; and that as they re- "ceived it ſolely from his Hands, they might "aſſure their Prince, he would endeavour very "ſhortly to ſend the reſt of their Companions "who remained in the Power of the Caziques, "whom he would endeavour to make ſenſible "of their Fault, and perform all that ſhould be "moſt for his Service; for that he was de- "ſirous of Peace, and to deſerve, by his Re- "ſpect and Actions, all the Marks of Civility "that were due to the Ambaſſador and Mi- "niſter of ſo great a Prince." The *Indians* durſt not ſet out on their Journey, for fear of being killed, or taken by the Way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the Diſtrict of *Zempoala*.

The

The Caziques came in the Morning much frightned and troubled for the Eſcape of the two Priſoners; and *Hernan Cortes* received the News with Signs of Surpriſe and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance; and upon this Pretence he ordered in their Preſence, that the reſt ſhould be carried on board the Fleet, as deſiring to take upon himſelf the Care of their Impriſonment; but he privately ordered the Sea-Officers to treat them well, and to keep them ſatisfied and ſafe; by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without diſobliging *Motezuma*, whoſe Power, ſo much cried up and dreaded among thoſe *Indians*, made him careful how he acted. After this Manner he endeavoured to provide for every thing, keeping up the diſcontented Party, without engaging himſelf too far in it, yet ſtill preſerving in View all Accidents which might oblige him to cloſe with it. A great Maſter in adjuſting his Meaſures to his Suſpicions. And he is a prudent General, who knows how to provide beforehand againſt Accidents, and, by Foreſight, to leſſen the Force or Surpriſe of thoſe Difficulties he meets with.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Caziques of the Mountains come to ſubmit, and offer their Service to Cortes. *The* Spaniards *build the Town of* Vera Cruz, *and put it in a Poſture of Defence. New Ambaſſadors arrive there from* Motezuma.

THE Benignity and good Behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards their Allies, was quickly divulged thro' all the Diſtricts thereabouts; and the two Caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabiſlan* gave Notice to all their Friends and Confederates of the Happineſs they enjoyed, being freed from Impoſitions, and their Liberty ſecured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and ſeemed of a ſuperior Nature. The Report ſpread, and (as is uſual) was improv'd by Fame, which always adds to the Truth, or confounds it with Exaggerations. It was ſaid publickly among thoſe People, that their Gods were come down to *Quiabiſlan*, darting Lightning againſt *Motezuma*; the which Credulity laſted ſome Time among the *Indians*, and cauſed a Veneration, tho' ill founded, which very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conqueſt. Nor were they altogether wide of the Truth, in eſteeming thoſe ſent from Heaven, who by its Decree and Appointment, came to be the Inſtruments of their Salvation:

A Notion proceeding from their Ignorance, in which there might be some Mixture of a superior Light, dispensed in Favour of their Sincerity.

This Opinion of the *Spaniards* did so increase, and the Name of Liberty sounded so well in the Ears of the Oppressed, that in a few Days there came to *Quiabiſlan* above thirty Caziques, Lords of the Mountain that was in sight, which had numerous Settlements of *Indians*, called *Totonaques*, a rustick People, of different Languages and Customs, but strong, and valuing themselves upon their Courage. They all paid their Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form proposed to them, swore Fidelity and Vassalage to the King of *Spain*, of which a solemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council. *Antonio de Herrera* says, that the Troops offered by those Caziques, exceeded the Number of a hundred thousand Men. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, doth not reckon them; nor were they ever listed. The Number, it is likely, was very great, the Settlements being many, and the People easily stirred up against *Motezuma*, especially, for that the Mountainous Country consisted of Warlike *Indians*, lately subdu'd, or not quite conquered.

This kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houses, ready to do as they should be commanded; and *Hernan Cortes* resolved to settle the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which, till then moved with

with the Army, tho' obſerving its proper Diſtinctions as a Republick. They pitched upon the Plain between Sea the and *Quiabiſlan*, half a League from that Town; a Land which invited them with its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the Cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church. The handicraft Men were diſtributed, Carpenters and Maſons, who came with Soldiers Pay; and the *Indians* of *Zempoala* and *Quiabiſlan* aſſiſting with equal Skill and Activity, the Houſes began to riſe; mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering, than any Commodiouſneſs. They preſently drew the Compaſs of the Wall with Traverſes of ſtrong Mud-Work, a ſufficient Defence againſt the Weapons of the *Indians*; and in that Country it might be properly called a Fortreſs. The principal Officers of the Army help'd to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders to it; and *Hernan Cortes* work'd as the reſt, ſeeming to ſet himſelf a Task, not ſatisfied with the ſcanty Diligence which is ſufficient in a Superior to ſet a good Example.

In the mean time they received at *Mexico* the firſt Advice of the *Spaniards* being received in *Zempoala* by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of ſuſpected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended on: Which Account ſo provoked *Motezuma*, that he propoſed to draw together his Forces, and march out

out in Person to chastise this Offence of the *Zempoalans*, and put the rest of the Mountain Nations under his Yoke; taking the *Spaniards* alive, whom he had already in his Imagination destined for a solemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

But at the same Time that he began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize, the two *Indians*, whom *Cortes* had dispatched from *Quiabiſlan*, arrived at *Mexico*, and gave an Account of their Imprisonment; and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had sent them to represent how much he desired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Disservice; extolling his Courtesy and Mildness so much, that it might be perceived by the Praises they gave *Cortes*, how much they had feared the Caziques.

Upon this the Face of Affairs was changed: The Anger of *Motezuma* was mitigated; Preparations for War ceased, and he determined again to try the Way of Negociation, endeavouring to divert *Cortes* from his Designs with a new Embassy and Present, to which Measures he easily inclined; for in the midst of his Anger and Pride, he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Answers of his Idols, which he looked on as evil Omens of his Undertaking, or at least, they obliged him to delay the Breach; endeavouring to qualify his Fear after such a Manner, that it should be taken for Prudence, by Men, and for Respect, by his Gods.

This

This Embaſſy arrived when they had almoſt perfected the new Settlement and Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*. With the Embaſſy came two Youths, Nephews to *Motezuma*, attended by four ancient Caziques who aſſiſted them as Counſellors, and added to their Authority by the Reſpect they paid them. The Attendance was ſplendid; and they brought a Preſent of Gold, Feathers, and Cotton, worth about two thouſand Pieces of Eight. The Meſſage the Ambaſſadors delivered, was, "That "the great Emperor *Motezuma*, having been "informed of the Diſobedience of thoſe Caziques, and their Inſolence in taking and "miſuſing his Officers, had provided a power-"ful Army to come in Perſon to chaſtiſe "them; but had ſuſpended the Execution of "his Purpoſe, that he might not be obliged to "break with the *Spaniards*, whoſe Friendſhip "he deſired, and whoſe Captain he was obliged "to eſteem, and acknowledge the Reſpect he "had ſhewn in ſending him his two Servants, "whom he had releaſed from ſo cruel an Im-"priſonment. But that tho' he durſt entirely "rely upon him for reſtoring likewiſe their "Companions to Liberty, yet he could not "but complain in a friendly Manner, that ſo "valiant and wiſe a Man ſhould think fit to "live among his Rebels, making them more "inſolent under the Shelter of his Arms: "And as the making of Traytors bold, was "little leſs than approving the Treaſon, he "did requeſt him, upon that Conſideration,

"immediately

" immediately to leave that Country, that he " might punish them without Breach of his " Friendship. And with the same Sincerity " of Heart, he admonished him not to think " of passing on to his Court; for that the Im- " pediments and Dangers of that Journey were " very great." On which last Article they enlarged with a mysterious Tediousness, this being the principal Point of their Instructions.

HERNAN CORTES received the Embassy and Present with great Respect; and before he returned his Answer, he ordered the four imprisoned Officers to come in, whom he had purposely sent for from on board the Fleet; and, gaining the good Will of the Ambassadors, by delivering them up, well treated and thankful, he told them, " That the Error " committed by the Caziques of *Zempoala* " and *Quiabislan*, was amended by the Resti- " tution of those Officers; and that he was " highly pleased with the Opportunity of shew- " ing his Respect by that Action, and giving " *Motezuma* that first Proof of his Obedience: " That he could not but own the Insolence of " that Imprisonment, tho' it might in some " measure be excused by the Extravagancy of " the Officers themselves, who, not content " with the ordinary Tributes due to the Crown, " had of their own Authority demanded twenty " *Indians* for their Sacrifices; a cruel Propo- " sition, and an Abuse which the *Spaniards* " could not suffer, being bred in another Re- " ligion of greater Piety and Regard to human " Nature:

" Nature: That he found himſelf obliged to
" thoſe Caziques for admitting and entertain-
" ing him in their Territories, when his Go-
" vernors *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* diſcourteouſly
" abandon'd him, failing in Point of Hoſpi-
" tality, and the Law of Nations; an Action
" done without *Motezuma*'s Orders, and
" which would be diſpleaſing to him, or at
" leaſt, he was willing ſo to think; becauſe
" having nothing but Peace in view, he did
" not deſire to aggravate Matters by his Com-
" plaints: That neither that Country, nor the
" *Totonaque* Mountainiers, would move to
" his Diſſervice, neither would he permit it;
" for the Caziques were at his Devotion, and
" would not tranſgreſs his Orders; for which
" Reaſon he was obliged to intercede for
" them, that he would pardon their Diſobe-
" dience to his Officers, in having admitted
" and lodged his Troops: That for the reſt he
" could only ſay, that when he ſhould be ſo
" happy as to appear in his Preſence, he would
" make known the Importance of his Em-
" baſſy, and that in the mean time he had no
" Regard to the Impediments and Dangers
" which threaten'd him; for that the *Spa-*
" *niards* were unacquainted with Fear, and
" Obſtacles only induc'd them to go on, be-
" ing a People entured to Dangers, and uſed
" to ſeek for Glory amidſt the greateſt Diffi-
" culties."

WITH this ſhort and reſolute Speech (in which the Conſtancy of *Hernan Cortes* is to

be obſerved, and the Art with which he endeavoured to raiſe their Idea of his Deſigns; he anſwer'd the Ambaſſadors, who departed much careſs'd, and rich in *Caſtilian* Trifles carrying for their King, as a Preſent, another Treaſure of the ſame kind.

It was obſerved, that the Ambaſſadors went away diſſatisfied for not having obtain'd the Retreat of the *Spaniards*, which was the Point all their Endeavours tended to. The *Spaniards* gain'd much Reputation among thoſe Nations by this Embaſſy; for the *Indians* were now confirm'd in their Opinion, that *Hernan Cortes* muſt be ſome Deity, and none of the leaſt powerful, ſince *Motezuma* (whoſe Pride diſdain'd to bend his Knee in the Preſence of his Gods) ſought him with ſo much Submiſſion, and ſolicited his Friendſhip with Gifts, which, in their Opinion, were little leſs than Sacrifices; the Effect of which Extravagancy was, that they loſt great Part of the Fear which they had for their King, giving themſelves up with greater Subjection to the Obedience of the *Spaniards:* And no leſs than ſuch Dotage was neceſſary, that a Work ſo wonderful, and undertaken with ſo ſmall a Force, might be made practicable, the Moſt High permitting theſe Things, that it might not appear wholly a Miracle, or lie under the Imputation of Temerity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Zempoalans, *by Deceit, engage* Hernan Cortes *to take up Arms againſt the People of* Zimpazingo, *their Enemies. He makes them Friends, and reduces that Country.*

SOON after, the Cazique of *Zempoala* came to *Vera Cruz*, with ſome principal *Indians*, whom he brought as Witneſſes of what he intended to propoſe. He told *Hernan Cortes*, " That now the Time was " come to protect and defend his Country; " for that ſome Troops of the *Mexicans* " were arrived in *Zimpazingo*, (a Place of " Strength, diſtant from thence about two " Suns) and went out to over-run the Coun- " try, deſtroying the Corn-Fields, and com- " mitting ſome Hoſtilities in his Diſtrict, with " which, it ſeemed, they were beginning their " Revenge." *Hernan Cortes* found himſelf engaged to ſupport the *Zempoalans*, to maintain the Credit of his Offers; and beſides, he thought it would not be right to ſuffer that Inſolence of the *Mexicans*, as it were, in his Sight; and that in caſe they were ſome advanced Troops of *Motezuma*'s Army, it would be neceſſary to ſtrike a Terror into them, to diſcourage the reſt of his People. For which Purpoſe he determined to march in Perſon upon this Undertaking: engaging in it ſome-

what too haſtily; for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits and Lyes of thoſe People (a capital Vice among the *Indians*) and ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried away by Probability, without examining into the Truth. He offered them to march out immediately with his Troops, to chaſtiſe thoſe Enemies, who diſturb'd the Peace of his Allies; and ordering them to provide *Indians* of Burden for the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Diſpoſition immediately for his March, and took the Road of *Zimpazingo*, with four hundred Men, leaving the reſt in the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*.

As he paſſed by *Zempoala*, he found two thouſand armed *Indians*, whom the Caziqus had provided to ſerve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, or Commands, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Cuſtom of their Militia. *Hernan Cortes* thanked him very much for the Care he took to provide that Succour and tho' he let him underſtand, that he had no Occaſion for his Men upon an Expedition of ſo ſmall Importance, yet he ſuffered them to go, to provide againſt all Events, but as if he had done it only to let them ſhare in the Glory of the Succeſs.

That Night they lodged in ſome Houſe three Leagues from *Zimpazingo*; and the next Day a little before Three in the Afternoon, they diſcovered the Town on the Top of a ſmall Hill, a Branch of the Mountain among

among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings, and threaten'd at a Diſtance, with the Difficulty of the Way. The *Spaniards* began to overcome the Craggedneſs of the Mountain, but not without conſiderable Trouble; for being jealous of an Ambuſh, they went Doubling, and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the *Zempoalans*, either more dextrous, or leſs embaraſs'd by the Narrowneſs of the Paths, advanced with a ſort of Fury which appeared like Valour, but was indeed Revenge, and a thieviſh Temper. *Hernan Cortes* was obliged to give Orders to halt, at a Time when ſome Troops of the Vanguard were already in the Town.

He held on his March, without meeting any Reſiſtance; and juſt as he was preparing to attack the Town in ſeveral Parts, there came out of it eight antient Prieſts, who asked for the Captain of that Army, before whoſe Preſence they came with great Submiſſions, pronouncing ſome Words in an humble and pitiful Manner, ſuch as ſufficiently ſhewed Submiſſion, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Dreſs was a black Mantle, whoſe End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and plaited about the Neck, with a Piece hanging looſe, in Form of a Hood, with which they kept their Heads warm. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, daſhed and clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices, Marks of which they ſuperſtitiouſly preſerv'd on their Faces and Hands;

for it was not lawful for them to wash themselves; fit Ministers of such unclean Gods, whose Filth shewed itself in this and other Deformities.

They began their Speech by asking *Cortes*, "By what Resistance or Offence the poor Inhabitants had merited the Indignation or Chastisement of a People, already so much famed in the Countries thereabouts for Clemency and Goodness?" He answered, "That he did not design to offend the Inhabitants of the Town, but only chastise the *Mexicans*, who were quartered in it, and sallied from thence to infest the Territories of his Friends." To which they replied, "That the *Mexican* Troops, which had been garisoned in *Zimpazingo*, were retired, flying further up the Country, as soon as they heard that *Motezuma*'s Officers were imprisoned at *Quiabislan*; and that if his Design was against them, through the Influence or Suggestion of those *Indians* that accompanied him, he was to understand, that the *Zempoalans* were their Enemies, and had deceived him, feigning those Inroads of the *Mexicans* to destroy them, and make him the Instrument of their Revenge."

By the Confusion and frivolous Excuses of the *Zempoalan* Captains themselves, it appeared that those Priests spoke Truth; and *Hernan Cortes* was concerned at the Deceit, as a Reflection upon his Arms, being vexed at the

the ſame Time at the Malice of the *Indians*, and his own Simplicity; but conſidering what was moſt proper to be done upon this Occaſion, he preſently ordered the Captains *Chriſtoval de Olid* and *Pedro de Alvarado* to go with their Companies, and gather the *Indians* together, who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now buſy in the Pillage, and had taken a conſiderable Quantity of Cloaths and Furniture, and already bound ſome Priſoners. They were brought to the Army, ſhamefully loaded with what they had robbed, and the miſerable plundered People following them, crying out for their Goods: For whoſe Satisfaction and Comfort *Hernan Cortes* commanded to unbind the Priſoners, and deliver up the Goods to the Prieſts, that they might reſtore them to the proper Owners; and calling for the *Zempoalan* Captains, reprov'd them publickly for their Preſumption, in very angry Terms, telling them, they had incurred the Penalty of Death for their Offence, in obliging him to march his Troops only to compaſs their Revenge; and cauſing himſelf to be entreated by the *Spaniſh* Captains, whom he had inſtructed before to pacify him, he pardoned them for that Time, enlarging upon that Action of his Clemency; tho', in Truth, he did not then dare to chaſtiſe them with the Rigour they deſerved, knowing well, that to preſerve new-acquired Friends, Clemency was more proper than Juſtice.

HAVING done this, which gave him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the *Zempoalans* to lodge without the Town, and he marched in with the *Spaniards*, where he was received with the Applause of a Deliverer. Immediately the Cazique of *Zimpazingo* visited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came either out of Friendship or Obedience, acknowledging the King of *Spain* for their Prince; whose Name was already beloved and reverenced in that Country, where the People desired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to *Motezuma*.

HE afterwards took in hand the adjusting of the Differences between those *Indians* and the *Zempoalans*; which began about the Division of their Districts, first between the Caziques, and had now occasion'd such a Rancour among the People, that they lived in continual Hostility. To which End, he drew up a Scheme for compounding their Differences; and taking upon himself to content the Lord of *Zempoala*, made them Friends, and returned to *Vera Cruz*, leaving his Interest advanced by the Obedience of new Caziques, and a Friendship established among those of his Party, whose Disagreement might have been a Hindrance to his receiving any Service from them: so that he made his Advantage, and found his Conveniency even in that ill-concerted Enterprize; such happy Fruits of Error serving to undeceive human Prudence,

dence, whoſe Deſigns, for the moſt part, prove abortive, and end in their very firſt Conceptions.

CHAP. XII.

The Spaniards *return to* Zempoala; *where they overthrow the Idols, with ſome Reſiſtance of the* Indians: *And the principal of their Temples is converted into a Church of our Lady.*

THE Cazique of *Zempoala* waited for *Cortes* at ſome Houſes a little diſtant from the Town, with great Store of Proviſions, to refreſh his Men; but much aſhamed and troubled, that his Deceit was diſcovered. He was going to excuſe himſelf; but *Cortes* did not permit it, telling him, "He had laid "aſide his Diſpleaſure, and deſired an Amend-"ment for the future, which was the only "Satisfaction of pardoned Crimes." They paſſed on directly to the Town, where he had provided a ſecond Preſent of Eight Virgins finely adorn'd: One of them was his Niece; and he brought her on Purpoſe that *Hernan Cortes* might do him the Honour to take her for his Wife, the reſt to be diſtributed among his Captains, as he ſhould think fit; making this Offer as one deſirous to ſtrengthen the Friendſhip between them by the Bonds of Blood. *Cortes* anſwer'd, "That he very

"much

" much esteem'd that Testimony of his Good-
" Will and Sincerity; but that it was not
" lawful for the *Spaniards* to take Wives of
" a different Religion; for which Reason, he
" suspended the receiving them until such
" Time as they became Christians." Upon this Occasion he press'd him again to quit his Idolatry, for that he could not be his true Friend, who differ'd so much from him in the most essential Point; and as he believed him a Man of Reason, he undertook, with some Hopes, to convince and reduce him. But the Cazique was so far from opening his Eyes, or being sensible of the Force of Truth, that presuming on the Opinion he had of his own Understanding, he undertook to argue in Defence of his Gods; and *Hernan Cortes*, suffering himself to be carry'd away by his Zeal for Religion, grew offended, and turned his Back upon him with some sort of Passion.

At this Time happen'd one of the most solemn Festivals of their Idols; and the *Zempoalans* assembled (not without some Circumspection on account of the *Spaniards*) in the principal of their Temples, where they celebrated a Sacrifice of Human Blood, which horrible Function was performed by the Hands of the Priests, with the Ceremonies, which will be related in their proper Place. Afterwards those unhappy Victims were sold cut out in Pieces, which were sought after, and bought as sacred Food: An abominable Brutality in the Taste, and a much worse in their Devotion.

tion. Some *Spaniards* happen'd to ſee Part of this Slaughter; who came and told *Cortes* how much they were ſcandalized; and he was ſo highly provok'd at it, that the pious Diſturbance of his Mind immediately appear'd on his Countenance. The Motives which obliged him to keep Meaſures with thoſe Confederates, gave way to a greater Cauſe; and as Anger has its firſt Fury, even when ſupported by Reaſon, he broke out into Threats, commanding his Soldiers to take Arms, and call the Cazique and the principal *Indians* which uſed to attend him. As ſoon as they came into his Preſence, he went with them to the Temple, cauſing his Troops to march in Order with him.

The Prieſts, who were jealous of the Event, came out to the Gate, and with loud Cries, began to call the People to the Defence of their Gods; at which Time ſome Troops of armed *Indians* appear'd; which, as it was afterwards known, thoſe very Prieſts had provided: For they feared ſome Violence, believing their Sacrifice, ſo much abhorred by the *Spaniards*, had been diſcovered. The Number of the *Indians* who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Avenues, was conſiderable; but *Hernan Cortes* (always preſent to himſelf on ſuch Occaſions) ordered *Donna Marina* to tell them aloud, "That upon the firſt Ar-" row they ſhould let fly, he would cauſe the " Throats of the Cazique, and all the *Zem-*" *poalans* in his Power, to be immediately

" cut,

" cut, and afterwards permit his Soldiers to " chastise their Insolence with Fire and Sword." The *Indians* trembled at the Terror of such a Threat; and the Cazique quaking like the rest, commanded them to lay down their Arms and retire; which Command they immediately obeyed, shewing in the Readiness with which they disappeared, how much they desired their Fear should pass for Obedience.

HERNAN CORTES remained with the Cazique, and those who attended him; and calling for the Priests, declaimed against Idolatry with more than Military Eloquence. He encouraged them, that they might not hearken to him with Fear: He endeavoured to make use of soft Expressions, that there might be no Appearance of Violence, where Reason was to speak: He lamented the Error in which they lived; and complained, that being his Friends, they should not give Credit to him in that which did most concern them: He told them how much he desired their Good; and from loving Expressions, which move the Heart, he proceeded to the Motives that affect the Understanding: He demonstrated to them their Errors; he set the Truth before their Eyes, as it were, in a visible Form: And lastly, told them, that he came fully resolv'd to destroy those Representations of the Devil; and that the Work would be most acceptable to him, if they themselves would execute it by their own Hands. To which End, he persuaded and encouraged them to go up the

Steps

Steps of the Temple, and overthrow their Idols: But they were ſo much concern'd at this Propoſal, that they only anſwer'd with Sighs and Lamentations; till proſtrating themſelves on the Ground, they declar'd aloud, That they would ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be cut in Pieces, than lay Hands upon their Gods. *Hernan Cortes* would not inſiſt too much on a Circumſtance to which he found them ſo averſe, and therefore order'd his Soldiers to put it in Execution: By whoſe Diligence the principal Idol, together with thoſe on each ſide, were flung down from the Top of the Steps, and came to the Pavement all broke to Pieces, followed by their own Altars, and the deteſtable Inſtruments of their Adoration. Great was the Commotion and Aſtoniſhment of the *Indians*; they beheld each other, as expecting the Puniſhment of Heaven; and the ſame ſoon happen'd as at *Cozumel*; for ſeeing their Gods thus debaſed, without Power to revenge themſelves, they laid aſide all Fear, and became ſenſible of their Weakneſs; in the ſame Manner as the World, by the Ruin of Great Men, ſees the Folly of that Worſhip it has paid them.

The *Zempoalans* by this Experiment became more eaſy to be perſuaded, and more ſubmiſſive to the Orders of the *Spaniards*: For if before they conſider'd them as Men of a ſuperior Nature, they now found themſelves obliged to confeſs, that they were more powerful than their Gods. *Hernan Cortes* finding how

how much his Authority was increaſed among them, commanded them to cleaſe the Temple; which Order was executed with ſo much Fervour and Chearfulneſs, that affecting to be undeceived, they flung into the Fire the Fragments of their Idols. The Cazique immediately order'd his Maſons to ſcrape the Walls, wiping out the Stains of human Blood, which they preſerv'd as an Ornament. After which they whiten'd them, laying on a Covering of that ſhining Mortar which they uſed in their Building; and they erected an Altar, on which was placed an Image of our Lady, with ſome ornamental Flowers and Lights; and the Day following, the holy Sacrifice of the Maſs was celebrated with all poſſible Solemnity, in Sight of abundance of *Indians*, who aſſiſted at the Novelty, rather admiring than attentive; tho' ſome bent their Knees, and endeavour'd to imitate the Devotion of the *Spaniards*.

THERE was no Opportunity then to inſtruct them in the fundamental Principles of Religion, for their Barbarity required more Time; and the Intention of *Hernan Cortes* was to begin their Spiritual Conqueſt from the Court of *Motezuma*. But they remained inclin'd to deſpiſe their Idols, and well diſpoſed to venerate the Image of the holy Virgin, offering to take her for their Advocate, that the God of the Chriſtians might favour them, whoſe Power they were already ſenſible of by the Effects, and by ſome Glimmerings of natural Light, always ſufficient to diſtinguiſh that which

which is beſt, and perceive the Force of thoſe Helps with which God aſſiſts all reaſonable Creatures.

And here we muſt not omit the pious Reſolution of an old Soldier, who ſtaid alone among theſe People, as yet but imperfectly reduced, to take Care of that Image, crowning his old Age with this holy Service: His Name was *Juan de Torres*, a Native of the City of *Cordova*. An Action truly worthy of a Soldier, and which at once records both his Valour and Piety.

CHAP. XIII.

The Army returns to Vera Cruz. *Commiſſaries are diſpatch'd to the King, with an Account of what had been done. Another Sedition is quell'd with the Puniſhment of ſome Mutineers. And* Hernan Cortes *executes his Reſolution of ſinking his Ships.*

The *Spaniards* departed immediately from *Zempoala* (which Place was afterwards called *New Sevil*); and when they came to *Vera Cruz*, there was juſt arrived at the Place where the Fleet lay at Anchor, a ſmall Veſſel, which came from the Iſle of *Cuba*, commanded by Captain *Franciſco de Saucedo*, Native of *Medino de Rio Seco*, and in Company with him Captain *Luis Marin*, who was afterwards in the ſame Station in the

the Conquest of *Mexico*. They brought with them ten Soldiers, one Horse, and one Mare; which was reckon'd at that Time a considerable Supply.

The *Spanish* Writers have not acquainted us with the Intention of their Voyage; but it is most likely, that they left *Cuba* with a Design to seek out *Cortes*, and follow his Fortune; and of this the Readiness with which they joined his Troops, seems a strong Argument. By this Means it was known, that the Governor *Diego Velasquez*, continued to threaten *Hernan Cortes*; for by the Negotiation of one of his Chaplains, whom he had dispatched to the Court, for this and other Pretensions, he had obtained the Title of the King's Lieutenant of that Island, with a Power to make new Discoveries and Settlements; which Grace of the King's had made him inexorable, believing that this Addition to his Authority was a fresh Ground for his Complaints.

But *Hernan Cortes*, whose Thoughts were now employed in greater Affairs, received this News as a Matter of no Concern, tho' it somewhat hastened his Resolution of giving the King an Account of his Proceedings: For which End, he disposed Matters so, that the Town of *Vera Cruz* should write a Letter, laying at his Majesty's Feet this new Settlement, and giving a short Relation of the Success of his Expedition, the Provinces that were already reduced to his Obedience, with the Riches,

Riches, Fertility, and great Plenty of this new World; the Progreſs he had made in favour of Religion; and the Diſpoſitions that were making, in order to come at a true Knowledge of the Empire of *Motezuma*. He very earneſtly entreated the Members of the Council of *Vera Cruz*, That not omitting to take Notice of the Violences intended againſt him by *Diego Velaſquez*, and the little Reaſon he had; they would lay before his Majeſty at large, the great Valour and Conſtancy of the *Spaniards* with him; leaving them to ſpeak of his own Perſon, as every one ſhould think proper. It was not Modeſty, but a Confidence in his own Merit, more than in any Words he could uſe, and a Deſire that they ſhould enlarge in his Praiſe; for no Man is diſpleas'd to hear his own Actions extoll'd, eſpecially in this martial Profeſſion, in which certain bare-fac'd Virtues are much in uſe, whoſe very Name is look'd upon as their Reward.

The Letter was writ in the proper Form; the Concluſion whereof was to beſeech his Majeſty that he would grant *Hernan Cortes* a Commiſſion of Captain-General, confirming That which he held from the Town and Troops, without any Dependence on *Diego Velaſquez*. *Cortes* wrote to the ſame Purpoſe, ſpeaking with more Aſſurance of the Hopes he had to bring that Empire to the Obedience of his Majeſty, and of the Diſpoſitions he was making to contend with the Power of *Motezuma*, by the Help of his own revolted Subjects.

THE Dispatches being finished, they were committed to the Care of the Captains *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montejo*; and it was agreed that they should carry the King all the Gold, valuable Jewels, and Curiosities they had acquired as well by the Presents of *Motezuma*, as by Ransoms, and the Gifts of other Caziques; both Officers and Soldiers giving up their Shares, that the Present might be the greater. They also carried some *Indians*, (who voluntarily offered themselves for the Voyage) as the first Fruits of those new Subjects they were gaining to his Majesty; and *Hernan Cortes* sent a Present in particular to his Father *Martin Cortes*, a worthy Thought amidst the many Cares that lay heavy upon him. The best Ship in the Fleet was immediately fitted, and the Charge of the Sailing committed to the Care of the chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos:* And when the Day appointed for the Embarkation came, their happy Voyage was recommended to the divine Favour by a solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost. With this happy Auspice they set Sail the 16th of *July*, 1519, with positive Orders to steer their Coast directly for *Spain*, endeavouring to pass the Channel of *Bahama*, without touching at the Island of *Cuba*, where they ought to apprehend, as an evident Danger, the Snares of *Diego Velasquez*.

WHILST they were making Preparations for this Voyage, some Soldiers and Sailors (People of little Honour) raised new Disturbances, by endea-

endeavouring to make their Eſcape, and give notice to *Diego Velaſquez* of the Diſpatches and Riches ſent to the King in the Name of *Cortes*; and their Intention was to go before with this Advice, that he might ſeize the Paſſes, and make Prize of the Ship: To which End, they had gained the Sailors of another Veſſel, and had laid in Proviſions of all Things neceſſary for their Voyage. But on the very Night deſign'd for their Flight, one of the Conſpirators, called *Bernardino de Coria*, repented. He was going among the reſt to embark; but taking a nearer View of the Foulneſs of his Crime, he privately ſtep'd aſide from his Companions, and went to inform the General. *Cortes* conſulted preſently how to remedy this Evil; and made his Diſpoſitions with ſo much Secrecy and Diligence, that the Accomplices were all ſeized on board the ſame Veſſel, without being able to deny their Crime; which he thought to deſerve an exemplary Puniſhment, finding no longer any Security in his Clemency. They were ſoon brought to their Tryal, and two of the Soldiers, who had been the chief Promoters of the Contrivance, were adjudg'd to die; two others, this being the ſecond Fault, to be whipp'd. The reſt were pardoned, as drawn in, and deceived; a Pretence *Cortes* made uſe of, that he might not loſe all who were guilty; tho' he ordered that the principal Mariner of the Ship deſtined for their Flight, ſhould have one of his Feet cut off: An extraordinary Sen-

tence, and upon this Occaſion very neceſſary; that the Crime which had deſerved ſo ſevere a Chaſtiſement, might not be forgot in Time. In ſuch Caſes the Memory ſtands in need of the Eyes; for it with Difficulty retains the Idea of that which is grievous to the Imagination.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and after him *Antonio de Herrera*, ſay, That the Licentiate *Juan Diaz* was guilty of this Crime; and that out of Reſpect to the Prieſthood, he was not proceeded againſt as he deſerved. That ſame Reſpect might have avail'd him againſt their Pens; eſpecially, ſince it is certain that in a Letter *Hernan Cortes* writ to the Emperor on the 30th of *October*, 1520 (for the which we are beholden to *Juan Baptiſta Ramuſi*, in his Voyages,) he makes no mention of this Prieſt, tho' he names all the Accomplices of this Sedition; ſo that either the Crime imputed to him is not true, or we have the ſame Reaſon not to believe it, as *Cortes* had to conceal it.

The Day on which this Sentence was executed, *Cortes* went with ſome of his Friends to *Zempoala*, where he was diſturb'd with various Thoughts. The Boldneſs of thoſe Soldiers gave him much Uneaſineſs: He looked upon it as a Conſequence of the paſt Diſturbances, and a Spark of a Fire not quite put out: He was now to march forward with his Troops, and very probably he ſhould be oblig'd to try his Strength with *Motezuma*; a very unequal Diſpute; and more eſpecially with

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Men diſunited and ſuſpected. He thought of ſtaying ſome Days among thoſe Caziques his Friends; of employing his Troops in ſome leſſer Enterprizes, and of making new Settlements for the ſtrengthning of *Vera Cruz*: But in every thing he found Inconveniences; and from this Agitation of his Mind reſulted an Action, which very much ſhewed the Greatneſs of his Soul; for he reſolved to deſtroy his Fleet, and break up all the Veſſels, that he might be ſecure of the Soldiers, and either conquer with them, or die; in which Determination he alſo found the Advantage of reinforcing his Army with above a hundred Men, who were employed as Pilots and Mariners. He communicated this Reſolution to his Confidents, and by their Means (with ſome Gifts, and proper Secrecy) ſo diſpoſed Matters, that the very Sailors themſelves declared with one Voice, That the Ships would certainly founder by reaſon of the Damage they had ſuſtain'd in that Road, and by the bad Quality of the Port. Upon which Information, the Orders which *Cortes* gave, ſeem'd no more than a neceſſary Care, That they ſhould bring aſhore their Sails, Tackling, and Iron, with ſuch Planks as might be of Service, and ſink all the great Veſſels, reſerving only Boats for Fiſhing: A Reſolution deſervedly applauded, as one of the greateſt of this Conqueſt; and we know not whether a greater of the Kind can be found in all Hiſtory.

JUSTIN relates of *Agathocles* that having landed his Army on the Coasts of *Africk*, he burnt his Vessels, to deprive his Soldiers of all Means of Flight.

POLIENUS celebrates the Memory of *Timarchus*, General of the *Etolians*, for his equal Boldness; and *Quintus Fabius Maximus* has left us, among his Military Stratagems, such another Instance, if we can give more Credit to the Report of *Frontinus*, than to the Silence of *Plutarch*. But none of these Actions are lessen'd by the Example of others. And if we consider *Hernan Cortes*, with fewer Men than any of them, in a more distant Country, and less known, without any Hopes of human Succour, among barbarous People, so savage in their Customs, with a Tyrant to oppose, so proud and powerful, we shall find that the Undertaking of *Cortes* was the greater, and his Resolution more heroick: Or, granting to those great Captains the Glory of having first led the Way, let us allow *Cortes* that of having gone beyond them, in the same Path.

IT is not to be endured that *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with his usual, we know not whether, Malice or Sincerity, should introduce himself as a Counsellor, upon so great an Occasion, usurping from *Cortes* the Glory of having been the first Projector. "We (says "he) that were his Friends, advised him not "to leave a Ship in the Port, but to sink them "all." But he knew not how to support his Ambition; for a little after, he adds; "And "this

" this Deſign of ſinking the Ships, he had " already concerted, but deſired it ſhould come " from us." So that we are only beholden to him for the Advice which came after the Reſolution. And the Remark of *Antonio de Herrera* on the ſame Action, is leſs tolerable; for he affirms, " That the Fleet was deſtroyed " at the Inſtance of the Soldiers; and that " they were perſuaded and ſollicited thereto " by the Craft of *Cortes*, (that is his Expreſ- " ſion) that he alone might not be obliged to " make good the Payment of the Ships, but " the Troops." It doth not appear that *Hernan Cortes* was at that Time either in a Place, or a Condition, to fear any Civil Diſputes with *Diego Velaſquez*; nor does this Manner of Reaſoning any way agree with the high Deſigns which he was then forming. If he took this Account from the ſame *Bernal Diaz*, (who thus preſumed, as fearing ſome Part of the Payment of thoſe Veſſels might come to his Share) he ſhould have diſregarded it as the Grumbling of an intereſted Perſon: And if it was his own Conjecture, as he gives us to underſtand, and that he, as an Hiſtorian, had the Dexterity to penetrate into the Secret of the Actions he relates, he leſſens the Credit of this Action by the Meanneſs of the Motive, and is wanting in a juſt Proportion, by attributing great Effects to ordinary Cauſes.

CHAP. XIV.

Cortes *having made a Disposition for the March, is informed that Ships are seen upon the Coasts. He departs for* Vera Cruz, *and takes seven Soldiers belonging to the Fleet commanded by* Francisco de Garay. *The Army begin their March; and having with much Difficulty passed the Mountains, enter the Province of* Zocothlan.

SOME of the Soldiers were much grieved at this Destruction of the Fleet; but were easily brought to Reason by the Remembrance of the past Punishment, and the Example of those of better Understanding. Measures were immediately concerted for pursuing the Expedition; and *Hernan Cortes* assembled his Troops in *Zempoala*, which consisted of Five hundred Foot, fifteen Horse, and six Pieces of Artillery, leaving an Hundred and fifty Men and two Horses in Garrison at *Vera Cruz*, and appointing Captain *Juan de Escalante* Governor, a Soldier of Valour, very diligent, and one in whom he intirely confided. He strictly charged the neighbouring Caziques, that during his Absence they should obey and respect him as a Person in whom he had vested his whole Authority; that they should take Care to supply him with Provisions, and People to help to build the Church, and

and the Fortifications of the Town, which he took Care of, not ſo much out of Fear of any Diſturbance that might happen from the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood, as out of a Jealouſy of ſome Invaſion or Surprize from *Diego Velaſquez*.

The Cazique of *Zempoala* had provided two hundred *Tamenes*, or *Indians* of Burden, for the Baggage, and ſome armed Troops to augment the Army; out of which *Hernan Cortes* picked about four hundred Men, including in this Number forty or fifty noble *Indians*, of the greateſt Account in that Country. And tho' he immediately treated them as his own Soldiers, his real Intention was to carry them as Hoſtages, for the Security of the Church he left in *Zempoala*, and of the *Spaniards* who remained at *Vera Cruz*, together with a young Page of his, whom he left in Charge with the Cazique, to learn the *Mexican* Language, in caſe he ſhould loſe his Interpreters. In which he ſhewed his great Care, and how far he look'd before him, to be provided upon all Events.

When all Things were in a Readineſs for the March, an Expreſs arrived from *Juan de Eſcalante*, with Advice, that ſome Ships were on the Coaſt of *Vera Cruz*; without caring to come to, tho' they had made them Signals of Peace, and endeavoured it ſeveral Ways. This was not an Accident to be diſregarded, therefore *Hernan Cortes* went immediately away with ſome of his Friends for *Vera Cruz*, leaving

leaving the Command of the Troops to *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*. At his Arrival, one of the Vessels seem'd to be at Anchor at a considerable Distance from the Land; and soon after, he discovered four *Spaniards* on the Shore, who drew near without any Fear, giving to understand they sought him.

One of them was an *Escrivano*, or Notary, and the others came as Witnesses of a Notification they intended to make to *Cortes* in the Name of their Captain. They brought it in Writing, and it contain'd, "That *Francisco* "*de Garay*, Governor of the Island of *Ja*- "*maica*, had, by Virtue of an Order from "the King, to make Discoveries and plant "Colonies, embark'd on board three Ships, "two hundred and seventy *Spaniards*, under "the Command of Captain *Alonso de Pine*- "*da*, and taken Possession of that Land, on "the side of the River of *Panuco*; and be- "cause he intended to establish a Colony near "*Naothlan*, twelve or fourteen Leagues to "the Westward, intimated to him, and re- "quired, that he should not make any Settle- "ments that way."

Hernan Cortes answer'd the Notary, "That he did not understand what he meant "by his Notification, or those Forms of Law. "But desired that the Captain and he might "meet, and all Things should be adjusted after "the most convenient Manner; for they were "all Subjects of the same King, and lay un-

"der

"der an equal Obligation of aſſiſting each "other for his Service." He bid them go back with this Meſſage: But they not going, and the Notary inſiſting, in a diſreſpectful Manner, that he ſhould return a direct Anſwer to his Notification, he ordered them to be ſeized; and hid himſelf with his Men among ſome little Sand Hills, whereof there are many on that Shore; where he ſtay'd all that Night, and part of the next Day, the Ship never offering to ſtir, or diſcovering any other Deſign they had, than that of ſtaying for their Meſſengers; which put him upon trying whether he could by any Stratagem draw any of their Men on Shore. The firſt Thing he thought on, was to order the Priſoners to be ſtripp'd, and four of his own Men to go to the Shore in their Cloaths, making Signals to the Ship with their Cloaks and other Things. The Conſequence of this Contrivance was, that twelve or fourteen Men, armed with Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, came in a Boat: But the four Men, who were diſguis'd, retiring, that they might not be known, and hiding their Faces, while they anſwer'd their Call, they durſt not land: So that only three were taken, who had leap'd on Shore, being more courageous, or leſs conſiderate; the reſt return'd on board the Veſſel, which, being thus undeceiv'd, weighed Anchor, and followed her Courſe. *Hernan Cortes* at firſt doubted that theſe Veſſels might belong to *Diego Velaſquez*, and feared they might have obliged him

him to put a Stop to his March: But the Designs of *Francisco de Garay* gave him very little Uneasiness, as an Affair which in Time might be much easier adjusted; so that he return'd to *Zempoala* eased of his Cares, and not without some Advantage; for he brought with him an Addition of seven Soldiers, which, in a Place where a *Spaniard* was of so much Value, was esteem'd a Happiness, and look'd upon as a good Recruit.

CORTES soon after resum'd the Thoughts of marching; and upon leaving the Place, drew up the Army in Order, forming a Body of *Spaniards* for the Vanguard, and another of *Indians* for the Rear, commanded by *Mamegi*, *Theuche*, and *Tamelli*, Caziques of the Mountains: The strongest of the *Tamenes* were commanded to take Charge of the Artillery, the rest were reserved for the Baggage. In this Order, with a Party before to look out, they began their March on the sixteenth Day of *August*. The Army was well receiv'd in their first Marches, at *Jalapa*, *Socochima*, and *Texucla*, Towns in the same Confederacy. As they went along they scattered among those friendly *Indians* the Seeds of Religion, not so much to inform them of the Truth, as to leave them suspicious of their own Errors. *Hernan Cortes* seeing them so docil and well disposed, was of Opinion, that a Cross should be erected in every Town the Army passed thro', that at least a Veneration for That might be introduced; but Father *Bar-*

Bartolome de Olmedo, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, oppoſed this Opinion, perſwading him, "that it might be a Raſhneſs to "truſt the Holy Croſs to Barbarians ill inſtruct-"ed, who might offer ſome Indecency to it, "or at leaſt treat it after the ſame Manner as "they did their Idols, by ſuperſtitiouſly wor-"ſhipping the ſame, without being ſenſible "of the Myſtery which the Croſs repre-"ſented." His Piety firſt moved him to make the Propoſition; but his good Judgment made him ſenſible of the Force of the others Reaſon.

They next enter'd upon the rough Part of the Mountain, the firſt Difficulty they met with in their Road to *Mexico*, where they ſuffer'd very much; for they were obliged to march for three Days over uninhabitable Rocks, whoſe Paths were Precipices. They carried the Artillery by Strength of Arms, and ſome Contrivances; and the Badneſs of the Weather diſtreſs'd them extremely. The Cold was exceſſive, and the Showers of Rain very hard and frequent, and the poor Soldiers having no Conveniency to make Barracks at Night, and no other Shelter but their Arms, they marched to keep themſelves warm, and were obliged to ſeek for Eaſe in Fatigue. Their Proviſions alſo failed them, the laſt Calamity upon theſe Occaſions; and their Reſolution began now to contend with their Strength, when they gained the Top of the Mountain: There they found a Temple and a great

great Quantity of Wood; but they made no Stay, becauſe on the other Side they diſcovered ſome neighbouring Villages, to which they marched haſtily to refreſh themſelves, and there found Accommodation ſufficient to make them forget all that they had ſuffer'd.

At this Place began the Country of *Zocothlan*, in thoſe Days a large and populous Province, whoſe Cazique reſided in a City of the ſame Name, ſituate in the Valley at the Foot of the Mountain. *Hernan Cortes* gave him Notice of his Arrival and Deſigns, ſending two *Zempoalan Indians* with the Meſſage, who quickly return'd with a favourable Anſwer; and in a ſhort Time after he diſcover'd the City, a large Place, which in a ſtately manner filled great Part of the Plain. The Towers and other Buildings at a Diſtance appeared white, and becauſe a *Portugueze* Soldier compared it to *Caſtilblanco* in *Portugal*, for ſome Time it preſerv'd that Name. The Cazique came forth to receive *Cortes* with great Attendance; but with a kind of forced Civility, which ſhewed more of Artifice than Good-Will. The Entertainment he gave the Troops was not very pleaſant, their Lodging incommodious, and the Proviſions ſcanty, and in every Thing it appear'd, how little he was pleaſed with his Gueſts: But *Hernan Cortes* ſtifled his Reſentment, and repreſs'd the Anger of his Soldiers, that he might not give the *Indians* any Miſtruſt of the Peace which he had propoſed, when he intended only to march

thro'

thro' their Country; preſerving the Reputation of his Arms, without ſtopping to improve it by inconſiderable Enterprizes.

CHAP. XV.

The Cazique of Zocothlan *viſits* Cortes *a ſecond Time, and highly extols the Greatneſs of* Motezuma. Cortes *reſolves to march by the Way of* Tlaſcala, *of which Province, and the Nature of its Government, ſome Information is got at* Xacazingo.

THE next Day the Cazique repeated his Viſit, and came with a greater Train of Relations and Servants: His Name was *Olinteth*; he was a Man of Capacity, and Lord of many Towns, and reſpected as the moſt conſiderable Perſon among all his Neighbours. *Cortes* adorn'd himſelf to receive him with all the uſual outward Shew. And this Meeting was very remarkable; for after having received him with great Civility, and paid him the uſual Compliments with a becoming Gravity, *Cortes* (believing he ſhould find the ſame Complaint from him which he had heard from others) asked whether he was a Subject of the King of *Mexico?* To which the Cazique readily anſwer'd, "Is there any "Man upon the Earth who is not a Vaſſal "and Slave to *Motezuma?*" *Cortes* might very

very eaſily have been diſcompos'd at the Cazique's blunt Manner of anſwering him with another Queſtion; but he was ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that, with ſome Scorn, he told him, "He knew very little of the World; for that "he himſelf and thoſe who accompanied him, "were Subjects of another King, ſo powerful, "that he had many Subjects greater Princes "than *Motezuma.*" The Cazique was not mov'd at theſe Words, but, on the contrary, without entring into any Diſpute or Compariſon, went on, recounting the Grandeur of his King, as one who would not ſtay to be asked; ſaying with great Gravity, "That *Motezuma* "was the greateſt Prince then known in the "World; that the Provinces of his Dominion "were not to be reckon'd; that he kept his "Court in a City impregnable, founded in the "Water in great Lakes; that the Entrance to "it was by Dikes, or Cauſeways, with Draw-"bridges over ſeveral Openings, by which "there was a Communication of the Waters. "He enlarged much on the Immenſity of his "Riches, and the Strength of his Armies; "and above all on the Unhappineſs of thoſe "who did not obey him; for with them he "made up the Number of his Sacrifices, and "that every Year above twenty thouſand Men "(Enemies, or Rebels) died upon the Altars "of his Gods." What he ſaid was true, but he ſpoke it like one exaggerating, and it was eaſily perceived that he was influenced by

Mote-

Motezuma, and recounted his Greatneſs rather to cauſe Fear than Admiration.

HERNAN CORTES perceiv'd the Deſign of his Diſcourſe, and thinking it neceſſary to put on a certain Vivacity, in order to diſappoint thoſe boaſting Expreſſions, anſwer'd, 'That he was already ſufficiently inform'd of 'the Empire and Greatneſs of *Motezuma*; 'and that were he a leſs Prince, he ſhould 'not have come from ſuch diſtant Countries 'to make him an Offer of Friendſhip from 'another Prince much greater than He: That 'his Embaſſy was peaceable, and that the 'Men who attended him in Arms, ſerv'd 'more for a Shew of Authority than Force; 'but that both he, and all the Caziques of 'the Empire muſt know that he deſired 'Peace without being afraid of War; for 'that the moſt inconſiderable of his Soldiers 'was able to cope with an Army of his 'King; that he would never draw the Sword 'without juſt Provocation: But once drawn, 'I will (ſaid he) put every Thing before me 'to Fire and Sword, and Nature will aſſiſt 'me with her Prodigies, and Heaven with its 'Lightnings; for it is the Cauſe of Heaven 'I come to defend, by baniſhing your Vices, 'and the Errors of your Religion, and theſe 'very Sacrifices of human Blood, which you 'recount as a Part of the Grandeur of your 'King." And (breaking up the Viſit) he turn'd to his Soldiers, and ſaid, "This, my 'Friends, is what we ſeek, great Difficulties,

" and great Riches: By the one we gain " Fame, and by the other Eſtates." With this ſhort Speech he abated the Pride of the *Indians*, and added freſh Courage to the *Spaniards*; telling his Thoughts to all without Artifice; for from the very Beginning of this Undertaking, God had ſo ſtrengthen'd his Heart, that altho' he ſufficiently conſider'd, and knew the Dangers, he enter'd upon them, as if he had been ſure of Succeſs.

THE *Spaniards* ſtay'd five Days in *Zocothlan*; and *Cortes* quickly found in the Cazique another ſort of Reſpect; for the Accommodation of the Troops was better'd; and he was more punctual in the Entertainment of his Gueſts. *Cortes*'s Anſwer gave him much Uneaſineſs, and he diſcover'd an anxious Penſiveneſs, occaſion'd by his own Obſervations, as he himſelf afterwards confeſs'd to Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*. He concluded in the firſt Place, that they could not be Men who were ſo bold as to oppoſe *Motezuma*: And again, that they muſt be ſomething more, who talked with ſo much Contempt of his Gods. With this Conceit he obſerv'd the Difference of their Countenances, the Novelty of their Arms, and the Strangeneſs of their Habit, together with the Obedience of their Horſes: And it ſeem'd to him, that the *Spaniards* were endued with ſuperior Reaſon, when they argued againſt the Inhumanity of their Sacrifices, the Injuſtice of their Laws, and the Permiſſions of Senſuality (ſo un-

unbounded amongſt thoſe Barbarians, that the greateſt Outrages committed againſt Nature were accounted lawful). And from all theſe Principles, his high Eſteem of them drew Conſequences, to make him believe, that ſome Divinity dwelt in them. For there is no Underſtanding ſo deprav'd, as not to be ſenſible of the Deformity of Vice, notwithſtanding it be embrac'd by the Inclination, and diſguis'd by Cuſtom. But the Fear of *Motezuma* ſo entirely poſſeſs'd him, that he could not prevail with himſelf to acknowledge the Influence thoſe Conſiderations had on his Mind. He reſted ſatisfy'd with giving what was neceſſary for the Support of the Troops: And not daring to ſhew his Riches, was ſparing of his Preſents, the greateſt of his Liberality being four Female Slaves, which he gave *Cortes* to make his Bread, and twenty noble *Indians*, which he offered as Guides for the Army.

THERE aroſe a Queſtion about the Road which they ſhould chuſe for their March; and the Cazique propoſed that of the Province of *Cholula*, as being a fertile Country, and well peopled, whoſe Inhabitants being more inclin'd to Merchandize than War, would give a ſecure and commodious Paſſage to his Troops: And he adviſed them with great Earneſtneſs not to march by the Road of *Tlaſcala*, as being a Country always in War, and the Inhabitants of ſo bloody a Diſpoſition, that they placed their Happineſs in making

and keeping Men their Enemies. But th principal *Indians* who commanded the *Zem poalans*, told *Cortes* privately, that he mus not confide in that Advice, for that *Cholul* was a very populous City, and the People no to be depended on. That in *Cholula*, an the Towns of that District, *Motezuma* com monly quarter'd his Troops: And that it wa very possible the Cazique might lead then into the Danger with an evil Design: For th Province of *Tlascala* (tho' it were large, an the People warlike) were Confederates an Friends to the *Totonaques* and *Zempoalans* which were in his Army, and made conti nual Wars with *Motezuma:* For which tw Considerations, it would be more secure t march thro' their Country: And being i Company with their Allies, the *Spaniard* would not be looked upon as Stranger *Cortes* lik'd what they said, and finding i more reasonable to trust to his *Indian* Friend than to a Cazique so much affected to th Interest of *Motezuma*, he commanded th Troops to march to the Province of *Tlascala* whose Bounds they in a little Time disco ver'd; for they border'd upon those of *Z cothlan;* and during the first Marches no thing considerable offer'd: But afterwards the heard some Rumours of War, and were in form'd, that the Country was in Arms, an their Design kept secret; for which Reaso *Cortes* resolv'd to halt in a Town but indif ferentl

ferently peopled, call'd *Xacazingo*, until he might be better inform'd.

TLASCALA was at that Time a Province abounding with Inhabitants, and above fifty Leagues in Circumference: The Land was mountainous and uneven, full of Hills, which ſeem'd to be Children of the Mountain which is now call'd the *Great Cordillera*. Their Towns, whoſe Structure was rather durable than handſome, were built upon Eminences, partly to make uſe of the Advantages of the Ground in their Defence, and partly to leave the Plains to cultivate. At firſt they had Kings, which Government laſted ſome Years, until Civil Wars ariſing, they no longer cared to obey, and threw off the Yoke. But as the People cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, (being always Enemies to Subjection, till they are ſenſible of the fatal Conſequences of Liberty) they form'd themſelves into a Commonwealth, making many Princes, to get rid of one. They divided their Towns into different Diſtricts, and each named one of their Chiefs to reſide in the Court of *Tlaſcala*, where they form'd a Senate, whoſe Reſolutions all obey'd. A notable Kind of Ariſtocracy, which being found amongſt the Barbarity of thoſe People, diminiſhes pretty much the Credit of our Politicks. Under this Form of Government they maintain'd themſelves long againſt the Kings of *Mexico*, and at this Time were in their greateſt Strength; for the Oppreſſions of *Motezuma* had augmented the

Number of their Confederates; and they had now brought over to their Party the *Otomies*, a Nation barbarous even among Barbarians, but always desirous of War, in which they knew not how to distinguish Valour from Cruelty.

CORTES having receiv'd this Account, and not thinking it reasonable to despise it, resolv'd to send Messengers to the Republick, to facilitate the Passage of his Troops; and this Commission he intrusted to four of the chiefest *Zempoalans*, instructing them by Means of *Donna Marina* and *Aguilar*, in the Speech they were to make to the Senate, till they had in a Manner got it by Heart: And he chose them out of those who proposed in *Zocothlan* the Road of *Tlascala*, that they might have their own Advice in View, and be the more interested in the good Success of the Negotiation.

CHAP

CHAP. XVI.

Cortes's *four Envoys ſet out for* Tlaſcala. *An Account of their Habit, and the Manner how Embaſſies were deliver'd in that Country; and of the Debates of that Republick about the Point of receiving the* Spaniards *in a peaceable Manner.*

THE four *Zempoalans* immediately adorn'd themſelves after the Manner of Ambaſſadors: For which Employment, they put upon their Shoulder a Mantle, or Tippet of Cotton, wreath'd, and knotted at the Ends: In the Right Hand they bore a large Arrow, with the Feathers up, and on the left Arm a Target made of a Shell. The Intent of the Embaſſy was known by the Feathers of the Arrow; for the Red denoted War, and the White denoted Peace; after the ſame Manner as the *Romans* diſtinguiſh'd by different Symbols the *Feciales* and *Caduceatores*. By theſe Signs they were known and reſpected in their Marches: But they could not go out of the high Roads of the Province where they were travelling; for if they were found without them, they loſt thoſe Privileges and Immunities which were held ſacred by theſe People, obſerving religiouſly this kind of publick Faith, which Neceſſity invented, and placed among their Laws, as the Right of Nations.

With these Marks of their Employment, the four Envoys of *Cortes* entred into *Tlascala*; and being known as such, they were lodged in the *Calpisca* (for so they called the House set apart for the Reception of Ambassadors); and the Day following the Senate met to give them Audience in a great Hall, where they held their Councils. The Senators were seated according to their Seniority, upon low Chairs of an extraordinary Wood made of one Piece, which they called *Topales*. As soon as the Ambassadors appear'd, they raised themselves a little from their Seats, and welcomed them with moderate Courtesy. They came in with their Arrows raised on high, and their Tippets upon their Heads; which, among their Ceremonies, was accounted the most submissive. Having paid their Respects to the Senate, they walked leisurely up to the middle of the Hall, where they kneel'd down, and without lifting up their Eyes, waited for Leave to be given them to speak. The eldest Senator ordered them to declare their Business, and they seating themselves on their Legs, one of them who was pitch'd upon as the propereſt Person to make the Speech, delivered himself after this Manner:

"Noble *Republick, Valiant and Potent* "Tlascallans; The Lord of *Zempoala*, and "the Mountain Caziques, your Friends and "Confederates, send you Health; and wishing "you abundant Crops, and the Death of your "Enemies, they give you to understand, that

"certain

" certain invincible Men are arrived among
" them from the Eaſt, who ſeem to be Deities;
" for they ſail upon great Palaces, and make
" uſe of Thunder and Lightning, the peculiar
" Arms of Heaven: They are Servants of
" another God, ſuperior to ours, who is of-
" fended with Tyrannies, and Sacrifices of hu-
" man Blood. Their Captain is Ambaſſador
" from a very powerful Prince, who by the
" Impulſe of his Religion, deſires to reform
" the Abuſes of our Country, and redreſs the
" Violences of *Motezuma*; and having al-
" ready reſcued our Provinces from the Op-
" preſſion under which they lived, finds him-
" ſelf obliged to paſs thro' your Republick, in
" his Way to *Mexico*; and deſires to know
" wherein that Tyrant has offended you, that
" he may take your Cauſe in hand, and add it
" to the reſt, which juſtify his Undertaking.
" With this Notice then of their Deſigns, and
" with Experience of their Benignity, we come
" before you, to requeſt and admoniſh you, on
" the Part of our Caziques, and all their Confe-
" derates, that you would admit theſe Strangers,
" as the Benefactors and Friends of your Allies.
" And on the Part of their Captain, we aſſure
" you, that he comes in a peaceable Manner,
" and only demands a free Paſſage thro' your
" Country, after you ſhall be perſuaded that
" he deſires your Good, and that his Arms are
" the Inſtruments of Juſtice and Reaſon, which
" defend the Cauſe of Heaven, in their own

" Nature

" Nature good and mild, and only hurtful to " the Wicked, and where they are provok'd."

HAVING thus concluded, the Four raiſed themſelves upon their Knees, and making a profound Reverence to the Senate, they ſeated themſelves as before, expecting their Anſwer.

THE Senators conferred a little among themſelves; and then one, in the Name of all the reſt, told them, " That they admitted the Pro- " poſition of the *Zempoalans* and *Totonaques* " their Confederates, with all imaginable Gra- " titude; but that the Anſwer they were to " give to the Captain of the Strangers, re- " quired further Deliberation." Having received this Anſwer, the Ambaſſadors retired to their Lodging; and the Senate ſhut themſelves in, to diſcuſs the Difficulties and Conveniencies of the Demand made by *Cortes*. They firſt weighed the Importance of the Affair, thinking it worthy of mature Deliberation; but they were ſoon divided in Opinion, and this Diviſion occaſion'd very warm and obſtinate Diſputes. Some were for granting the Strangers the Liberty of paſſing on, as they deſired; others were for making War upon them, and endeavouring to deſtroy them at once; others were for denying them Paſſage, but permitting them to continue their March, provided it were without their Confines: Which Difference of Opinion occaſion'd much Noiſe, without coming to any Reſolution, till *Magiſcatzin*, one of the eldeſt of the Senators, and of greateſt Authority in the Republick,

lick, took the Matter in hand; who cauſing Silence to be made, is ſaid to have ſpoke after this Manner:

" You well know, Noble and Valiant *Tlaſcallans*, that in the firſt Ages of Antiquity, " it was revealed to our Prieſts, and is to " this Day believed amongſt us as a Point of " Religion, that an invincible Race of Men " are to come from the Oriental Regions to " this World, which we inhabit, with ſuch " Dominion over the Elements, that they ſhall " found moveable Cities upon the Seas, making " uſe of Fire and Air to ſubdue the Earth: " And tho' among the Judicious, it is not be- " lieved that they ſhall be Gods, (as the Vulgar " apprehends it) yet the ſame Tradition in- " forms us, that they ſhall be a celeſtial Race " of Men, ſo valiant, that one ſhall be able to " vanquiſh a thouſand; and ſo good, that they " ſhall only endeavour to make us live accord- " ing to Reaſon and Juſtice. I cannot deny, " but that the great Conformity there is be- " tween theſe Strangers, and thoſe Signs, has " given me a very great Concern. Theſe come " from the Eaſt; their Arms are Fire, and " Houſes on the Waters are their Veſſels. As " to their Valour, you have already heard by " Fame of their Actions in *Tabaſco*; and their " Goodneſs you now ſee acknowledged by " your own very Confederates; and if we " turn our Eyes to thoſe Comets and Signals " from Heaven, which ſo often terrify us, " methinks they ſpeak to us, and come as

" Meſſengers

" Messengers of this great Novelty. Who
" then will be so bold and rash (if these be
" the People of our Prophecies) to try his
" Strength with Heaven, and treat as Enemies
" those who come armed with its Decrees?
" I, at least, for my own Part, shall fear the
" Indignation of the Gods, who rigorously
" punish those that rebel against them; and with
" their own very Lightning, it seems as if they
" were pointing out to us to obey; for the
" Threats of Thunder are to all, and it only
" destroys where it meets Resistance. But I
" will suppose that these Signals are to be dis-
" regarded as casual, and that the Strangers
" are Men, like us: What Harm have they
" done us, that we should consult about Re-
" venge? Upon what Injury done to us shall we
" found this Violence? Shall *Tlascala*, which
" maintains its Liberty by its Victories, and
" its Victories by the Justice of its Arms, enter
" voluntarily into a War, which casts a Ble-
" mish upon its Government and Valour?
" These People come in a peaceable Manner:
" Their Request is to pass through our Re-
" publick, which they do not endeavour with-
" out our Permission: Where then is their
" Crime? Where our Provocation? They ar-
" rive at our Gates, confiding in the Pro-
" tection of our Friends; and shall we lose
" our Friends by falling upon those who desire
" our Friendship? What will the rest of our
" Confederates judge of this Action? And
" what will Fame report of us, if five hundred

" Men

" Men oblige us to take Arms? Shall we gain " as much by overcoming them, as we ſhall " loſe by having feared them? My Opinion " is, that we admit them with Courteſy, and " grant them the Paſſage they deſire; if they " are Men, becauſe their Requeſt is reaſonable; " and if they are any Thing more, becauſe " the Will of the Gods is a ſufficient Motive."

The Opinion of *Magiſcatzin* met with great Applauſe, and all were inclined to follow him with Acclamations; when one of the Senators, called *Xicotental*, deſired Leave to ſpeak: A young Man of great Spirit, who, on Account of Capacity and noble Actions, poſſeſſed the Poſt of General of their Army. Leave being obtained, and Silence being made, " Grey Hairs, ſaid he, are not always infallible " in their Deciſions, as being more inclined " to cautious Reflections, than to hardy En- " terprizes; and more proper to perſuade to " Patience, than to valiant Actions. I pay " all Reſpect, as you do, to the Authority and " Opinion of *Magiſcatzin:* But you will not " think it ſtrange, conſidering my Age and " Profeſſion, if I have different Notions, of a " leſs refin'd Policy, but perhaps more juſt. " When we are talking of making War, we " are often deceived by that which we call " Prudence; for whatſoever looks like Fear " is not Virtue, but a Paſſion. It is true, " there is an Expectation among us of theſe " Oriental Reformers, which is kept up by a " Prophecy, that is ſlow in its Completion.

" It

" It is not my Intention to make a little of a " Report, that has been made venerable by the " Consent of Ages; but tell me, I desire you, " what Security have we, that these are our " promised Strangers? Is it the same Thing " to come by the Way of the East, as to come " from the Celestial Regions, which we con- " sider as the Birth-Place of the Sun? The " Fire-Arms, and great Embarkations, which " you call Sea Palaces, may they not be the " Effect of human Industry, which are admired " for their Novelty? And perhaps they may " be the Illusions of some Inchantment, like " the deceiving of the Sight, which we call " Cunning in our Diviners. What they did " in *Tabasco*, was it any Thing more than " breaking an Army superior to them in Num- " ber? Shall this be thought in *Tlascala* super- " natural, where every Day greater Deeds are " done, with the ordinary Force? And this " great Benignity they have used towards the " *Zempoalans*; may it not be an Artifice, the " more easily to gain the People? At least I " shall take it for a suspicious Sweetness, that " pleases the Palate, to cover the Poison; for it " is not of a Piece with the rest, that we know " of their Covetousness, Pride, and Ambition. " These Men (if they are not some Monsters, " flung up by the Sea upon our Coasts) rob " our People; live at Discretion by the Law " of their own Will, thirsting after Gold and " Silver, and given up to the Delights of the " Land. They contemn our Laws, and en-

" deavour

" deavour dangerous Novelties, both in Juſtice " and Religion: They deſtroy our Temples, " pull in Pieces our Altars, and blaſpheme our " Gods; and is this the Race you call celeſtial? " And can any one make it a Doubt, whether " we ſhould reſiſt? And do we liſten without " Scandal to the Name of Peace? If the *Zem-* " *poalans* and *Totonaques* have admitted them " into their Friendſhip, it was without con- " ſulting our Republick: They advance under " no better Protection than the Want of " Thought, which deſerves to be puniſh'd in " thoſe that ſupport them. Theſe Impreſſions " of the Air, and frightful Signals, ſo magnified " by *Magiſcatzin*, do rather perſuade us to " treat them like Enemies, as being conſtant " Forerunners of Calamities and Miſeries: " Heaven with its Prodigies does not give us " notice of what we wiſh, but what we are " to fear; for thoſe Felicities never come ac- " companied by Terrors; nor does Heaven " light Comets to lull us aſleep, and to make " us negligent and careleſs. My Opinion " therefore is, that we aſſemble our Forces, " and make an End of them at once; for they " come into our Power, mark'd out by Signals " in the Heavens, purpoſely that we may look " on them as Oppreſſors of our Country, and " of our Gods; and that eſtabliſhing the Re- " putation of our Arms upon their Puniſh- " ment, the World may perceive, that it is " not the ſame Thing to be immortal in *Ta-* " *baſco*, and invincible in *Tlaſcala*."

THESE

THESE Reaſons made greater Impreſſion on the Senate than thoſe of *Magiſcatzin*, as more agreeable to the Inclination of the People, bred up in Arms, and breathing nothing but War; but upon diſcuſſing the Matter again, they reſolved, (as a Medium between both Opinions) that *Xicotencal* ſhould aſſemble his Troops, and try his Strength with the *Spaniards:* ſuppoſing, if he overcame them, they preſerved the Reputation of their Nation, and if he ſhould be beaten, room might be left for the Republick to treat of Peace, by laying the Blame of the Engagement upon the *Otomies*, and declaring it was a Diſorder occaſioned by their unſeaſonable Fierceneſs. For which End they ſo diſpoſed Matters, that the *Zempoalan* Ambaſſadors were detained in a ſort of diſguiſed Impriſonment, having in view the preſerving of their Confederates; for they very well knew the Danger of this War, tho' they undertook it with little Apprehenſion, being ſo brave, that they depended on their own Valour for Succeſs, but at the ſame Time ſo cautious, that they kept in view the Accidents of a contrary Fortune.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Spaniards *reſolve to draw near to* Tlaſcala, *looking on the Detention of their Meſſengers as a bad Sign. They engage with a Body of five thouſand* Indians *that lay in Ambuſh for them, and afterwards with the whole Power of the Republick.*

EIGHT Days the *Spaniards* ſtay'd at *Xacazingo*, expecting the Return of their Meſſengers, whoſe Delay was looked on as ſomething extraordinary; and *Hernan Cortes*, with the Approbation of his Captains, and the Chiefs of the *Zempoalans*, (for he uſed to ſhew them ſo much Favour and Confidence, as to hear their Opinions) reſolved to continue his March, and draw nearer to *Tlaſcala*, in order to diſcover the Intentions of thoſe *Indians*; conſidering, that if they were reſolved on War, (as appear'd by the firſt Tokens, now confirmed by the Detention of their Ambaſſadors) it would be better to ſhorten the Time of their Preparations, and ſeek them in their own City, before they ſhould have the Advantage of joining their Troops, and of engaging, drawn up in Order in the Field. The Army immediately marched in good Order, without omitting any of the Precautions which are wont to be obſerved by thoſe who ſet their Foot

into an Enemy's Country; and taking a Road between two Mountains, whose Skirts formed a very delightful Valley, a little more than the Distance of two Leagues, they came to a great Wall, which ran from the one Mountain to the other, entirely stopping up the Way: A sumptuous and strong Piece of Building, which shewed the Power and Greatness of the Owner. The Outside was of hewn Stone, cemented with Mortar of extraordinary Strength. It was twenty Foot thick, and a Fathom and a half high; and on the Top was a Parapet, after the Manner of our Fortifications. The Entrance was narrow and winding, the Wall in that Part dividing, and making two Walls, which circularly crossed each other, for the Space of ten Paces. They were informed by the *Indians* of *Zocothlan*, that the said Fortification was the Boundary of the Province of *Tlascala*, built by the antient Inhabitants to defend them against the Invasions of their Enemies; and it was very happy that the *Tlascalans* had not possessed themselves of it against the *Spaniards*; whether they wanted Time to march, out and receive them at that Fortification, or that they resolved to expect them in the open Field, in order to attack them with their whole Force, and so deprive the Inferior in Number of the Advantage of engaging in a narrow Pass.

The *Spaniards* passed to the other Side without any Disorder or Difficulty; and having

having again formed themſelves, continu'd their March ſlowly, till coming out into a more open Country, the Scouts diſcovered at a conſiderable Diſtance twenty or thirty *Indians*, whoſe Plumes (an Ornament only uſed by Soldiers) denoted that there were Troops in the Field. They came with this Account to *Cortes*; who ordered them to return with Speed, and endeavour to call them with Signs of Peace, without giving themſelves much Trouble in following them; for the Place where they were was uneven, and there ſeemed to be ſeveral Hollows and high Banks capable of hiding an Ambuſcade. He immediately follow'd them with eight Horſe, ordering his Captains to advance leiſurely with the Infantry; for it is never right to march Soldiers out of Breath, and enter into an Engagement with Troops that are fatigued.

The *Indians* ſtayed in the ſame Place till the ſix Horſe that had been detach'd before drew near; and without minding their Calling, and Behaviour with which they endeavoured to perſuade them to Peace, they turned their Backs, running till they incorporated with a Party a little before them, where they fac'd about, and put themſelves upon their Defence. At the ſame Time the fourteen Horſe joined, and charged that Troop, rather to diſcover the Country, than for any Account they made of their ſmall Number. The *Indians* ſtood the Charge,

losing but little Ground, making use of their Arms so valiantly, that without minding what Damage they received, they wounded two Soldiers, and five Horses. Upon that the Ambuscade which they had prepared, march'd out to the Assistance of their Friends, and appeared to be a Body of about five thousand Men at the Time when our Infantry came up, and the Troops formed themselves in a Battalion, to sustain the Fury with which the Enemy advanced to charge. But at the first Volley of the Fire-Arms, which made a great Slaughter of their Men, they turned their Backs, and retired very hastily; which first Confusion the *Spaniards* took Advantage of to close with them; and did it with such good Order, and so much Resolution, that in a small Time they quitted the Field, leaving sixty Men dead upon the Spot, and some Prisoners. *Hernan Cortes* did not care to follow the Chace, because the Day was declining, and he was desirous rather to terrify than destroy them. The *Spaniards* immediately possessed themselves of some little Houses which were in Sight where they found Provisions, and passed the Night chearfully, but not carelesly, some taking their Rest, whilst others watch'd.

The next Day they continued their March in the same Order, and discovered the Enemy a second Time in a larger Body than before coming with much more Haste than good Order. They marched up their Troops with

with great Noiſe and Arrogance: But diſcharging at too great a Diſtance, their Arrows did no Execution; and at the ſame Time they began to retreat, continuing to diſcharge at a great Diſtance, and particularly the Slingers, who being the fartheſt off, ſeemed the moſt reſolute. *Hernan Cortes* ſoon perceiv'd, that their Retreat had more of Stratagem than Fear; and gueſſing that a rougher Engagement would enſue, he followed the Enemy with his Forces in cloſe Order, till having gained an Eminence which interpoſed in the Road, he diſcovered in the Plain, on the other ſide, an Army which, as it was ſaid, conſiſted of above forty thouſand Men. It was compoſed of various Nations, diſtinguiſhed by the Colours of their Enſigns and Plumes. In it were the Nobles of *Tlaſcala*, and all their Confederates. *Xicotencal* commanded in Chief, who, as has been ſaid, was General of the Army of the Republick; and under him the Auxiliary Troops were commanded by their own Caziques, or moſt conſiderable Soldiers.

The *Spaniards* might very well have been diſheartened at the Sight of ſuch an unequal Force; but upon this Occaſion, the Experience they had gained in *Tabaſco* ſtood them in great Stead, and *Hernan Cortes* ſtopp'd but a very little while to perſuade them to the Battle; for he ſaw by their Countenances, and other Demonſtrations, the Deſire they had to engage. They began preſently to march

down the Hill with a chearful Security: And becauſe it was broken uneven Land, in which they could not manage their Horſes, neither had the Fire-Arms their Effect, diſcharged from the upper Ground, they took much Pains to beat off the Enemy, who endeavoured to diſpute the Paſs: But as ſoon as the Horſe got into better Ground, and part of the Foot had march'd into the Plain, they diſpoſed themſelves ſo as to make Way for the Artillery to come down, and the Rear-Guard to form themſelves. The main Body of the Enemy was at little more Diſtance than Musket-Shot, engaging only by Shouts and Threats; but ſcarce did our Troops begin to move, after the Signal given, when the *Indians* began to retire again, as if they had fled; being indeed a Second Stratagem of *Xicotencal*'s, to gain by the advancing of the *Spaniards*, his Deſign of ſurrounding and attacking them on all Sides; as appeared ſoon after; for as ſoon as ever he had them at a Diſtance from the Hill, which might have ſecured their Rear, the greateſt Part of his Army opened to the Right and Left, and running furiouſly, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Ground on both Sides; and then cloſing the Circle, obtained their Purpoſe of ſurrounding their Enemies at a Diſtance. They preſently began, with incredible Diligence, to draw into a leſs Compaſs; and were ſo united and reſolute, that the *Spaniards* found it neceſſary to draw up in a Square, facing every Way,

Way, and take Care of defending themſelves rather then of offending the Enemy, making Amends by Union, and a good Diſpoſition, for the Inequality of Numbers.

THE Air was filled with Arrows, and rent by Shouts and Noiſe: It rained Darts and Stones upon the *Spaniards*; and the *Indians* being ſenſible what little Effect their miſſive Weapons had on their Enemies, came quickly to the Pikes and Swords. Great was the Slaughter of the *Indians*, and greater was their Obſtinacy. *Hernan Cortes* charged with his Horſe where he found the greateſt Occaſion, breaking in and trampling under Foot all that were near him. The Fire-Arms did great Damage, and at the ſame Time occaſioned much Terror; the Artillery did not make a Shot in vain, caſting Aſtoniſhment among thoſe whom the Balls ſpared. As it was one of their Policies of War to conceal their Wounded, and carry off their Dead, a great many were employed that Way, and their Troops began to diminiſh; ſo that they fell back to a greater Diſtance, and began to fight more cautiouſly; but *Hernan Cortes*, before they could put themſelves in Order to cloſe afreſh, reſolved to attack the weakeſt Part of their Army, and open a Paſſage to ſeize ſome Poſt, whereby he might extend his whole Front againſt the Enemy. He communicated his Intentions to his Captains; and having placed his Horſe on the Wings, followed by the Foot at a large Pace, he cloſed with the *Indians*, calling

aloud upon St. *Peter*. At first they made some Resistance, plying their Weapons valiantly; but the Fierceness of the Horses (supernatural or monstrous in their Imagination) put them into Fear and Disorder, so that flying on all Sides, they wounded and trod one another under Foot, doing the same Damage to themselves which they feared from the *Spaniards*.

PEDRO DE MORON, who was mounted on a lusty swift Mare, had engaged himself too far; when some principal *Tlascalans*, (who were got together for this Purpose) seeing him alone, attacked him, and having seized his Lance and Bridle-Arm, gave the Mare so many Wounds, that she fell down dead, and in an Instant they cut off her Head, some say, it was at one Stroke; but that hyperbolical Way of Speaking does nothing alter the Substance of the Fact. *Pedro de Moron* received some slight Wounds, and was taken Prisoner; but he was soon after relieved by other Horse, who, with the Death of some *Indians*, freed him, and brought him back to the Army. This Accident was no way favourable to the Design of *Cortes*; for it gave the Enemy Time to return and close, and form themselves again on that Side; so that the *Spaniards* now tired with the Engagement, (for it lasted an Hour) began to doubt of the Success; but making a Virtue of Necessity, they were preparing to renew their Attack, when at once the Cries of the Enemy ceased, and there being a sudden Silence among that Multitude,

Multitude, they heard only their little Kettle-Drums and Horns ſounding a Retreat, after their Manner, as preſently appeared; for at the ſame Time their Troops began to move off; and marching ſlowly for the Road of *Tlaſcala*, they removed to the Top of a Hill, and left the Field to their Enemies.

THE *Spaniards* had Time to breathe upon this extraordinary Accident, which appeared to them miraculous, becauſe they did not perceive any natural Cauſe, to which it might be attributed; but they underſtood afterwards, (by Means of ſome Priſoners) that *Xicotencal* had ordered the Retreat, becauſe the greateſt Part of his Commanders being killed in the Battle, he durſt not undertake to manage ſo many Men, without Officers to command them. Many of their Nobles likewiſe fell, which made the Action coſt them dear, and very great was the Number of their Wounded; but notwithſtanding ſo great a Loſs, and that they had quitted the Field to our Troops, who were entire, they entred their Lodgment triumphant, accounting it for a Victory, that they were not overcome; and the Head of the Mare being all they had to ſhew for their Triumph, *Xicotencal* carried it before him upon the Point of a Spear, and immediately ſent it to *Tlaſcala*, making a Preſent to the Senate of that formidable Spoil of War; which was greatly admired, and afterwards ſacrificed in one of their Temples with extraordinary Solemnity: A proper Victim for

thoſe

those Altars, and less unclean than the very Gods which were honoured by it.

On our Side about nine or ten Soldiers were wounded, and some *Zempoalans*, whose Assistance was of a great Service upon this Occasion; for the Example of the *Spaniards* made them valiant, together with the Anger of seeing their Alliance despised and broken. At a little Distance was discovered a small Place, seated on an Eminence which commanded the Country; and *Hernan Cortes*, considering the Fatigue of his People, and how much Occasion they had to be refreshed, resolv'd to possess himself of that Post for their Lodgment; which was done without Difficulty; for the Inhabitants abandoned it upon the Retreat of their Army, leaving in it Abundance of Victuals, which helped to preserve our own Provisions, and refresh our Men. There was not sufficient Accommodation for all to be under Cover; but the *Zempoalans* took Care of themselves, building Huts in a very short Time; and the Situation, which was naturally strong, was secured as well as possible with some Works of Earth and Fascines, which they rais'd all the rest of the Day, with as much Heart and Chearfulness as if their very Work were Rest; not that they were insensible of the Danger in which they were, or thought the War finish'd, but because they expected from Providence, what they could not so much as hope for from their own Strength; and finding now, that Heaven

Heaven had declared in their Favour, they looked on thoſe Things as poſſible, which a little before ſeem'd to require a Miracle to accompliſh.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Tlaſcalans *recruit their Army. They give Battle a ſecond Time with greater Force; and are overthrown by the Valour of the* Spaniards, *and by another new Accident, which puts them in Diſorder.*

VARIOUS were the Reaſonings in *Tlaſcala*, upon the News of this ill Succeſs. They lamented the Death of their Captains and Caziques in a publick Manner; and from this Concern ſprung different Opinions. Some cried out for Peace, dignifying the *Spaniards* with the Name of immortal; whilſt others broke out into Reproaches and Threats againſt them, comforting themſelves with the Death of the Mare, the only Trophy of the War. *Magiſcatzin* boaſted, that he had foreſeen the Succeſs, repeating to his Friends what he had repreſented in the Senate, and ſpeaking upon the Subject as one who finds a Vanity even in the rejecting of his Advice. *Xicotencal* from his Camp deſired that they would reinforce his Army with freſh Supplies; leſſening his Loſs, and yet making uſe of that to move them to Revenge.

venge. At this Time one of the confederate Caziques arrived at *Tlascala* with ten thousand Men, which Succour they looked on as a Providence of the Gods; and their Courage increasing with their Forces, the Senate resolved to list fresh Troops, and prosecute the War at all Hazard.

HERNAN CORTES (the Day after the Battle) endeavoured only to put his Fortifications in better Order, adding new Works to help the natural Strength of the Place. He had a Mind to renew the Offers of Peace, and could find no Way to introduce his Negotiation; for the four *Zempoalan* Envoys (who were returned to the Army by different Ways) came terrify'd, and infected the rest. They had happily broke from a streight Confinement, (where they were put the Day *Xicotencal* took the Field) being destin'd with their Blood to appease the God of War; and upon the Report they made of this Inhumanity, it did not seem convenient, nor indeed would it have been easy, to make others expose themselves to the same Danger.

THE very Stillness of the Enemy gave him Concern; for there was not any Rumour of War in all the Country round about; and the Retreat of *Xicotencal* had all the Signs of a Dispute not yet ended. He ought in right Reason to have maintained this Post for his Retreat, in case of Necessity; but he found Inconveniencies in that Resolution; for the *Indians* would have interpreted the shutting himself

himſelf up in his Quarters, as Want of Valour; a Conſideration of great Importance, in a War ſupported more by Opinion than Force.

But taking Care of every Thing, like a diligent Commander, he reſolved to ſally out the next Day in the Morning to gain Intelligence, view the Country, and diſturb the Enemy; which he executed in Perſon, with all his Horſe, and two hundred Foot, the one Half *Spaniards*, and the other *Zempoalans*.

We muſt own this Undertaking was dangerous, conſidering the Force of the Enemy, and in a Country ſo conveniently diſpoſed for Ambuſhes. *Hernan Cortes* ſhould have ventured his Perſon leſs, the whole Affair depending upon him; and in our Opinion, this Exceſs of Bravery is by no means worthy of Imitation by thoſe who command Armies, whoſe Safety ought to be conſider'd as publick, and whoſe Valour is to inſpire others. We might excuſe him by the Examples of ſeveral great Men, who have been the firſt in expoſing themſelves to the Dangers of Battles, performing a Part with their Swords, in the Execution of their own Commands; but as we are more obliged to give a juſt Relation of his Actions, than to clear them from all Blame, we ſhall leave him open to this honourable Objection, which is indeed the beſt Fault of a Commander.

They went ſo far as to diſcover ſome Villages in the Road to *Tlaſcala*, where they found

found great Quantities of Provisions, and took several Prisoners; from whom they understood, that *Xicotencal* was incamped two Leagues from thence, not far from the City; and that he was raising more Forces against the *Spaniards*; with which Account they returned to their Quarters, having done some Damage in the neighbouring Places: for the *Zempoalans*, who were now anger'd upon their own Account, put every Thing to Fire and Sword they met in their Way; an Excess which *Cortes* reprimanded faintly; for he was not sorry, that the *Tlascalans* should be made sensible how far he was from being afraid of the War, since he provoked them to it with such Hostilities.

He presently set at Liberty all the Prisoners he had made in that Sally; and gave them such Entertainment as appeared necessary to make them lose their Fear of the *Spaniards*, and receive an Impression of their Benignity. He gave Orders to search out (among the other Prisoners that were taken on the Day of the Battle) those who appeared the most ingenious; and out of those he chose two or three to carry a Message to *Xicotencal*. The Substance of which was, *That he was very much concerned for the Loss his People had sustained in the Battle; for which they were to blame who gave the Occasion, by receiving those with Arms who came to propose Peace; that he did again require it of him, laying aside entirely all the Reasons he had to be displeased;*

diſpleaſed; but that if they would not preſently diſarm, and accept of it, they would oblige him utterly to deſtroy them at once, making the Name of their Nation a Terror to their Neighbours. The *Indians* departed with this Meſſage, well inſtructed and pleaſed, promiſing to return with the Anſwer; and but a few Hours paſſed before they made good their Word: But they returned bloody, and ill-treated; for *Xicotencal* order'd them to be puniſh'd for their Boldneſs in bringing him ſuch a Propoſal; and did not order them to be kill'd, that they might return wounded to the Sight of *Cortes*; and that carrying with them that farther Proof of his Reſolution, they might let him know, *That at the firſt Riſing of the Sun he ſhould ſee him in the Field; that his Intention was to carry him and all his People alive to the Altars of his Gods, and appeaſe them with their Hearts Blood; and that he did immediately give him Notice of his Reſolution, that he might have Time to prepare himſelf; giving him further to underſtand, that he was not accuſtomed to leſſen the Glory of his Victories by the Careleſneſs of his Enemies.* The Inſolence of this *Barbarian* occaſion'd more Anger than Concern in the Mind of *Cortes:* But he did not diſregard his Advice, nor deſpiſe his Counſel; on the contrary, at the firſt Break of Day, he drew out his Troops into the Field, leaving in his Quarters ſuch a Force as he thought neceſſary for their Defence;

and

and advancing little less than half a League, chose a convenient Post, where he might receive the Enemy with Advantage; there he form'd his Ranks as the Ground would permit, and agreeable to the Experience he already had of this War. His Flanks he secured with the Artillery, ordering when and at what Distance to discharge. He sent his Vanguard before, and putting himself at the Head of his Horse, to take care of succouring where it was needfull, he attended the Success, shewing in his Countenance the Easiness of his Mind, without having much Occasion to make use of his Eloquence to instruct and animate his Soldiers; for they all came chearful and courageous, their Custom of overcoming making them desirous to engage.

It was not long before the Scouts returned with an Account that the Enemy was upon the March with a very powerful Army; and very soon after, their Vanguard appeared. The Plain began to fill with armed *Indians*; the Eye could not reach the End of their Troops, which covered the whole Horizon. Their Army consisted of above fifty thousand Men, (as they themselves confess'd) the whole Force of the Republick, and all their Allies, that they might take the *Spaniards* alive, and carry them bound, first offering their Blood to the Gods, and then giving their Flesh for a Banquet. They brought forth into the Field a great Eagle of Gold, raised on high, the Ensign of *Tlascala*, which they only made use

uſe of in their greateſt Undertakings. They drew near with incredible Diligence; and when they came within Reach of the Cannon, the Artillery began to put a Stop to their Speed, ſtriking ſuch a Terror into them, that they ſtood ſtill ſome Time, divided between Fear and Anger: But Anger prevailing, they came forward in a Throng, till they were ſo near as to make uſe of their Slings and Arrows, where they were ſtopped a ſecond Time by the Terror of the Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows.

The Engagement continued a long Time very bloody on the Part of the *Indians*, and but with ſmall Damage to the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of the Advantage of their Arms, and the Order and good Diſpoſition with which they gave and received the Charge; but the *Indians* perceiving the Blood they loſt, and that their own Dilatorineſs was deſtructive to them, they moved all at once; and the Hindmoſt puſhing on the Foremoſt, the whole Multitude fell upon the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* with ſo much Fury and Deſpair, that they broke their Ranks, and entirely deſtroy'd that good Diſpoſition in which they were formed. There was then Occaſion for all the Valour of the Soldiers, all the Bravery and Diligence of the Officers, all the Strength of the Horſe, and all the Want of military Skill in the *Indians*, to enable them to form again; which they did by main Force, and

with the Death of all that did not immediately give Way before them.

At this Juncture there happened an Accident, as before, by which it appeared a second Time, that the special Providence of God defended his own Cause. A very great Disturbance was perceived in the Enemy's Army; Troops were moving to different Parts, dividing and turning their Arms against each other: In the End, they all retired in a tumultuous Manner; and those who were engaged in the Front, turned their Backs, and fled. The *Spaniards* pursued them with small Execution; for *Cortes* did not care to expose himself to their charging him again at too great a Distance from his Quarters.

It was known afterwards that the Cause of that Disturbance, and the Reason of this second Retreat was, that *Xicotencal*, who was a passionate, proud Man, and founded his Authority upon the Patience of those under his Command, did, with too much Liberty, reprimand one of the principal Caziques, who served under him with ten thousand Men, calling him a Coward, and Mean-spirited, for not advancing when the rest were engaged; which the other returned with so much Boldness, that it came to a Breach, and a personal Challenge between them; and in a short Time it became the Cause of the whole Body of Troops under the Cazique's Command, who espoused the Quarrel of their Chief, and prepared for his Defence; with which Example other Caziques

ziques who were his Friends, mutinied; and taking a Reſolution of withdrawing their Troops from an Army, where their Valour was ſo little regarded, they put it in Execution with ſo much Celerity and Diſpleaſure, that they put all the reſt into Diſorder; and *Xicotencal* being ſenſible of his Weakneſs, endeavoured only to ſecure himſelf, leaving the Field and the Victory to his Enemies.

It is not our Intention to relate this ſo favourable Succeſs, and ſo opportune to the *Spaniards*, as a Miracle; on the contrary, we confeſs, that the Diſagreement of thoſe Caziques was caſual, and might eaſily happen when a General commanded of ſo little Temper, and with ſo little Superiority over the Confederates of his Republick; but whoever will conſider this powerful Army of *Barbarians*, overthrown and broken to Pieces a firſt and ſecond Time, (a Work ſuperior to any human Force) muſt acknowledge in thoſe very Caſualties the Hand of God, whoſe ineffable Wiſdom is wont to bring about his high Deſigns by what Men call Contingencies, making uſe very often of that which he permits, to accompliſh that which he has ordain'd.

Great was the Number of the *Indians* killed upon this Occaſion, and much greater that of the wounded, (as they themſelves did afterwards relate). On our Side only one Soldier was killed, and twenty wounded, but ſo ſlightly, that they were able to mount Guard that Night. But notwithſtanding this Victory

was so great, and so much more wonderful than the last, (for they engaged with a greater Army, and the Enemy retired overthrown) yet the Novelty of having been broke and put into Disorder in the Battle, made such an Impression upon some of the *Spanish* Soldiers, that they returned to their Quarters melancholy and dishearten'd, like Men who had been vanquish'd. There were very many who plainly declar'd, That they would not wilfully throw themselves away for *Cortes*'s Humour; that he ought to think of returning to *Vera Cruz*, for that it was impossible to advance any farther; or, that otherwise they would do it themselves, leaving him alone to his Ambition and Temerity. *Hernan Cortes* was informed of this, and retired to his Tent, without endeavouring to reduce them, till they were recovered from that Fright, and had Time to be sensible how much they were mistaken in what they proposed: For in Distempers of this Kind, hasty Remedies rather irritate than correct; Fear in Men being a violent Passion, which Reason at the first cannot govern.

CHAP. XIX.

Hernan Cortes *ſtills the new Diſturbance among his Men. The People of* Tlaſcala *take the* Spaniards *for Enchanters. They conſult their Magicians; and by their Advice attack them by Night in their Quarters.*

THE Diſturbance among the Malecontents increaſed; and the Diligence of the Captains, together with the contrary Opinion of the better Sort, not being ſufficient to reduce them, *Hernan Cortes* found it neceſſary to ſhew himſelf, and endeavour to bring them to Reaſon. To which End, he order'd all the *Spaniards* to aſſemble in the Place of Arms, upon Pretence of coming to a Reſolution upon the preſent State of Affairs; and placing near himſelf the moſt Mutinous, (a ſort of Favour neceſſary for their better hearing) "It allows, "ſays he, of no great Diſpute, what our Army "is to do, having gained in a ſhort Time two "Battles, in which your Valour, and the "Weakneſs of your Enemies, have equally "appeared. It is true, the overcoming an "Enemy is not the finiſhing Stroke of a War; "for the improving a Victory has alſo its Dif-"ficulties: And we muſt always be aware of "thoſe Dangers that oftentimes attend good "Succeſs, as a kind of Tax upon human Fe-"licity. But this, my Friends, is not what

" gives me Trouble: I ſtand in Need of your " Advice upon a greater Doubt. They tell " me, that ſome of our Soldiers are again de- " ſirous, and ſtir up one another to propoſe, " that we ſhould retreat. I am willing to be- " lieve they ground this Opinion upon ſome " good Reaſon; but it is not right, that a " Point of ſo much Importance ſhould be " treated in a murmuring Manner. Tell all " your Opinions freely; do not diſcredit what " you earneſtly deſire, by propoſing it in a cri- " minal Way. And, that we may all reaſon " upon that which is moſt convenient for us " all, let us firſt conſider the Condition in " which we are, and reſolve at once upon " ſomething which cannot be contradicted. " This Enterpriſe was begun with your Ap- " probation, I may ſay, with your Applauſe. " Our Reſolution was to paſs on to the Court " of *Motezuma*. We all devoted ourſelves " to this Undertaking for our Religion, and " our King, as alſo for our Honour, and our " Hopes. Theſe *Indians* of *Tlaſcala*, who " endeavoured to oppoſe our Deſign with all " the Power of the Republick, and its Con- " federates, are now overthrown and conquer'd. " It is not poſſible, (according to the natural " Courſe of Things) that they ſhould delay " long to requeſt Peace, or grant us Paſſage. " If this happens, how greatly will it add to " our Reputation? What will theſe *Barba-* " *rians* conceive of us, who already rank us " with their Gods? *Motezuma*, who expected

" us

" us with Concern, (as has appeared by the " Repetition and Artifice of his Embaſſies) " will behold us with greater Terror, after " having vanquiſhed the *Tlaſcalans*, who are " the moſt valiant Men of the Country, and " have by Force of Arms maintain'd their Li- " berty againſt him. It is very poſſible, that " he will make us advantageous Offers, fearing " leſt we ſhould join with his Rebels; and very " poſſible, that this ſame Difficulty, we now " meet with, may be the Means which God " makes uſe of to facilitate our Undertakings, " by making Tryal of our Conſtancy; for he " will not work Miracles for us, without making " uſe both of our Hearts and Hands. But if " we ſhould turn our Backs, (and be the firſt " that have been diſcouraged by Victories) all " our Labour is loſt at once: What can we " hope for? Or what is it that we ought not to " fear? Theſe very vanquiſh'd People, that are " now terrify'd, and fugitive, will be animated " at our being diſhearten'd, and knowing all " the ſhort Cuts and difficult Paſſages of the " Country, they will purſue, and break us in " our March. Our *Indian* Friends (who ſtand " by us contented and courageous) will quit us, " and eſcape to their own Country, publiſh- " ing our Diſgrace. The *Zempoalans* and *To-* " *tonaques*, our Confederates, (who are our " only Refuge in the Retreat) will conſpire " againſt us, loſing the great Opinion they had " of our Power. I repeat it again, let every " Thing be maturely conſider'd; and com-

" paring the Hopes which we abandon, with " the Dangers to which we expose ourselves, " propose and deliberate what will be most " convenient; for I leave you to your full Li- " berty of Discourse, and have laid before you " these Inconveniencies, rather to free my Opi- " nion from Blame, than defend it."

Scarcely had *Hernan Cortes* finish'd his Discourse, when one of the dissatisfy'd Soldiers, convinced by his Reasons, raised his Voice, telling the rest, " Friends, our Captain asks " what we are to do, but instructs us while " he is asking: It is not possible for us to " retire now, without being lost."

The rest were convinced, confessing their Error, and the other Part rejoiced at their being undeceiv'd; and it was resolv'd, by Acclamations, to prosecute the Enterprise; the Disquiets of those Soldiers who were desirous of finding Rest in the Isle of *Cuba* being at that Time entirely pacify'd, whose Unreasonableness was one of the Difficulties which did most trouble the Mind, and exercise the Constancy of *Cortes* in this Enterprise.

This second Rout of their Army caused an unusual Trouble in *Tlascala:* They all admir'd, and were confounded. The common People cried out for Peace; and the Nobles were unable to carry on the War. Some proposed to retire to the Mountains with their Families; others said the *Spaniards* were Deities, inclining to pay them Obedience with Circumstances of Adoration. The Senate assembled to consult how

how to reſtore their Affairs: And beginning to argue from their own Fear, they all confeſſed, that the Force of thoſe Strangers appeared to be more than natural: But they were not fully perſuaded they were Gods, eſteeming it too great a Lightneſs to conform their Opinions to the Credulity of the Vulgar; but were rather inclin'd to believe, that they perform'd ſuch wonderful Actions by magical Art. And coming to a Reſolution, that they ought to have Recourſe to the ſame Science, in order to overcome them, and ſo take off the Force of one Enchantment with another, they ſummoned their Magicians and Diviners for this Purpoſe, whoſe Deluſions were much introduced by the Devil in that Country, and no leſs reverenced. The Opinion of the Senate was communicated to them, which they approv'd of with myſterious Conſideration; giving them to underſtand, "That they knew what Doubt they had to "propoſe, and had beforehand ſtudied the "Caſe; telling them, That by the Obſervation "of their Circles, and by their Divinations, "they had fully diſcover'd the Secret of this "Novelty; and that the Whole conſiſted, in "that the *Spaniards* were the Offspring of "the Sun, produced by his own active Quality "in the Mother-Earth of the Oriental Regions, "their greateſt Enchantment being the Preſence of their Father, whoſe warm Influence "did communicate unto them a kind of Force "ſuperior to human Nature, and made them "immortal; but that upon his diſappearing in

"the

" the West, the Influence ceased, and they " remained dishearten'd and wither'd, like the " Herbs of the Field, reduced to the Terms of " Mortality, like other Men; for which Con- " sideration it was necessary to attack them by " Night, and destroy them before the rising " Sun made them invincible."

THOSE Senators very much applauded the great Knowledge of the Magicians, being satisfy'd that they had found out the difficult Point, and discover'd the Way to obtain Victory. It was contrary to the Custom of this Country to engage by Night; but as in extraordinary Cases little Respect is had to Custom, this important News was sent to *Xicotencal*, with Orders to attack the *Spaniards* in their Quarters on the Setting of the Sun, endeavouring to destroy and make an End of them before he should return to the East. Accordingly he began to dispose every Thing for the Action, believing (with some Excuse) the Imposture of the Magicians, as coming to him authorized by the Opinion of the Senate.

DURING this Interim of Time, the *Spaniards* had several Rencounters of little Consequence. Some Troops of the Enemy shewed themselves on the Eminences near the Quarters, who either fled before the *Spaniards* could engage them, or were beat off with Loss. They made some Sallies to raise Contributions from the neighbouring Villages, where they used the Inhabitants well, and gained both their good Wills and Provisions. *Cortes* took special

Care

Care to preſerve Diſcipline, and keep his People vigilant, during this Time of Reſt in their Quarters. He always had his Centinels poſted at a Diſtance, his Guards mounted with the utmoſt military Strictneſs; the Horſes ſtood ſaddled all Night, with their Bridles upon the Pummels; the Soldiers either watch'd, or, if they reſted, lay upon their Arms. An Exactneſs which ſeems ſuperfluous to the Negligent, but then prov'd very neceſſary; for at the coming on of the Night deſtin'd for the Attack reſolv'd on by the *Tlaſcalans*, the Centinels diſcover'd a Body of the Enemy marching towards their Quarters with unaccuſtom'd Slowneſs and Silence. Notice was given of it without any Noiſe; and as the Soldiers were always prepar'd for ſuch Accidents, they immediately mann'd the Works, and with great Readineſs diſpos'd every Thing that appear'd neceſſary for their Defence.

XICOTENCAL upon the Credit of his Magicians came on inſenſible of Danger, thinking to find his Enemies without Spirit or Strength, and to end the War before the Sun ſhould know any thing of it; but he brought with him ten thouſand Men, leſt they ſhould happen not to be diſpirited by the Abſence of their Father. The *Spaniards* let him draw near, without making any Motion; and he gave Orders to attack the Quarters on three Sides; which the *Indians* executed with Speed and Reſolution; but they met with ſuch a powerful and unlook'd-for Reſiſtance, that many died in the

the Attack, and the reſt were ſtruck with the more Fear, by how much the greater had been the Security with which they came. *Xicotencal* was ſenſible (tho' late) of the Deluſion of his Sorcerers, and of the Difficulty of his Undertaking; but his Anger and Courage would not let him conſider, and therefore he gave Orders for another Attack to be made on all Sides, and he return'd to the Aſſault, pouring the whole Body of his Troops upon our Defences. We cannot but acknowledge the Valour with which the *Indians* try'd this Way of Fight in the Night, and againſt a Fortification, a Thing altogether new in their Way of making War. They helped one another with their Shoulders and Arms to gain the Wall, and received Wounds, which they made larger by their own preſſing forward; and the foremoſt falling, did not in the leaſt terrify thoſe who came behind. The Combat laſted a long Time, their own Diſorder endamaging them no leſs than our Arms; till *Xicotencal* being convinc'd that it was not poſſible for him to compaſs what he intended, order'd the Signal to be given for drawing off, and thought of retreating. But *Hernan Cortes* (who had a watchful Eye over all,) as ſoon as he found them ſlackening, and ſaw that they return'd in Heaps from the Wall, ſent out Part of his Foot, and all his Horſe, which were ready prepared, with Breaſt-plates full of Bells, that by the Novelty of the Noiſe they might ſtrike the greater Terror: Which ſudden Aſſault put the

Indians

Indians into ſuch a Fright, that they endeavoured only to eſcape, without making any Reſiſtance. They left a conſiderable Number of Dead in the Field, with ſome Wounded, which they could not carry off; and of the *Spaniards* only two or three were wounded, and one *Zempoalan* kill'd: An Event that ſeem'd miraculous, conſidering the innumerable Multitude of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, which they found within their Intrenchments; and a Victory, which for the Eaſineſs and ſmall Expence wherewith it was gained, was celebrated among the Soldiers with particular Demonſtrations of Joy; though at that Time they were not ſenſible how much it imported them to have been valiant in the Night, nor of the Obligations they lay under to the Magicians of *Tlaſcala*, whoſe Folly was of Uſe in this Work; for it raiſed the Reputation of the *Spaniards* to the higheſt Pitch, and facilitated a Peace, which is the beſt Advantage of War.

CHAP. XX.

The Senate commands the General to ſuſpend the War: He refuſes to obey; but on the contrary, deſigns to give a freſh Aſſault upon the Spaniſh *Quarters. His Spies are diſcovered and puniſh'd. A Treaty of Peace begins to be ſet on Foot.*

THE great Hopes which the City had conceived, without any other Reaſon, than that of truſting the Succeſs of their Arms to

to the Favour of the Night, being vanish'd, the Common People again called out for Peace; the Nobles were dissatisfy'd, and came now into the same Sentiments with the Populace, though they made less Noise: The Senators were disheartened and silent; and the first Thing they did, was to punish their Magicians for their own Folly, not so much because Deceit in them was a new Thing, but because they were ashamed they had believed them. Two or three of the chiefest of them were sacrificed in one of their Temples; the rest were reprimanded, and found themselves obliged to lye with less Liberty in that Assembly.

After that, the Senate met to consult about the principal Affair, and all, without Exception, inclined to Peace; granting that the Judgment of *Magiscatzin* had foreseen what had befallen them, and the most Incredulous confessing, that those Strangers were, without Doubt, the Celestial Men mentioned in their Prophecies. The first Resolution was to dispatch an Express immediately to *Xicotencal*, with Orders to suspend the War, and only keep himself upon his Guard; acquainting him, that they were treating for a Peace, which was already resolved on the Part of the Senate, and that they would immediately name Ambassadors to propose it, and to make the best Terms they could in Favour of the Republick.

However, *Xicotencal* was so obstinately bent against the *Spaniards*, and so far blinded by his Martial Employment, that he utterly denied

denied Obedience to this Order, and anſwered, with Arrogance and Diſreſpect, *That he and his Soldiers were the true Senate, and would take Care of the Credit of their Nation, ſince the Fathers of the Country abandoned it.* He had diſpoſed Matters ſo as to aſſault the *Spaniards* a ſecond Time by Night, and within their Quarters; not that he made any Account of the paſt Divinations, but becauſe he thought it better to keep them ſhut up, that they might come alive into his Hands. But he intended to go upon this Undertaking with a greater Force, and better Intelligence; and knowing that ſome Peaſants of the adjacent Villages repaired to the Quarters with Proviſions, to exchange them for *Spaniſh* Baubles, he made uſe of this Means to facilitate his Enterprize; and choſe forty Soldiers in whom he confided, who, cloathed after the Manner of Peaſants, loaded with Fruit, Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, were to enter the Place, and obſerve the Nature and Strength of the Fortification, and where it might be aſſaulted with leaſt Difficulty.

Some ſay, that theſe *Indians* were ſent as Ambaſſadors from *Xicotencal* himſelf, with feigned Propoſals of Peace (in which Caſe the Inadvertency of our People would be more culpable). But whether the Pretence was this, or the other, they entered within their Quarters, and were among the *Spaniards* great Part of the Morning, without any Notice being taken of their Stay, till a *Zempoalan* Soldier obſerv'd,

that

that they went ſlily about, obſerving the Walls, and looking over them in a curious Manner; of which he preſently gave Notice to *Cortes*. And as in this Kind of Suſpicions, there is no Sign which is trivial, or Shadow that has not a Body, he order'd them to be ſeized immediately; which was eaſily executed. Being examin'd ſeparately, they confeſſed the Truth without much Reſiſtance, ſome preſſed by Torture, and others by the Fear of it; all agreeing that a ſecond Aſſault was to have been made on the Quarters that ſame Night; for which Undertaking their General was now upon the March with twenty thouſand Men, and was to wait for them at a League's Diſtance, in order to diſpoſe his Attacks, according to the Account they ſhould bring him of the Weakneſſes they had obſerved in the Works.

HERNAN CORTES was much concern'd at this Accident, for he was then indiſpos'd; and it coſt him more Trouble to conceal his Sickneſs, than to bear it: But he never kept his Bed, or took Care of himſelf, but when he had nothing elſe to take Care of. It is reported of him, (we will not paſs it by in Silence) That juſt before one of the Engagements with the *Tlaſcalans*, he had taken Phyſick; and that he mounted his Horſe, made a Diſpoſition of the Battle, and engaged without finding the leaſt Diſorder, or thinking on the Purge, the which, by that Diverſion of his Mind, was depriv'd of its active Quality, and had not the Effect until the next Day. Father

Don

Don Prudencio de Sandoval, in his Hiſtory of the Emperor *Charles* V. looks upon it as a Miracle which God wrought on him: A Notion which Philoſophers will diſpute, to whoſe Profeſſion it belongs to ſhew how, in this Caſe, the natural Faculty may be ſo far influenc'd by the Imagination, buſied in greater Matters, as to ceaſe performing its Function; or how the Spirits, gathering about the Heart and the Head, draw after them that natural Heat which ſhould put the Medicine in Motion. Such an Accident, however, ought not to be omitted by an Hiſtorian, as ſerving to ſhew how much this Commander gave himſelf up to the vigilant Care of what he was to direct and order in the Battle: An Employment which, in Truth, requires the whole Man, as great as he can be; and theſe Conſiderations are ſometimes permitted in Hiſtory, as propoſing Examples, which animate to an Imitation.

The Deſigns of *Xicotencal* being now diſcover'd by the Confeſſion of his Spies, *Hernan Cortes* gave the neceſſary Orders for the Defence of his Quarters; and immediately conſider'd on the Puniſhment thoſe Delinquents deſerv'd, being already condemned to Death by the Laws of War. But he thought, that to kill them without the Knowledge of the Enemy, would be Juſtice without Terror: And as he did not ſo much want to ſatisfy himſelf, as to terrify them, he gave Orders, that the moſt obſtinate of them (which were

fourteen or fifteen) ſhould have ſome their Hands, and the reſt their Thumbs cut off; and in this Manner diſmiſſed them, bidding them tell *Xicotencal* from him, that he was now waiting for him; and that he ſent them alive, that he might not loſe the Informations they carry'd of his Fortifications.

The *Indian* Army (that was now marching to the Enterprize) was ſtruck with Horror at this bloody Spectacle: They ſtood aſtoniſh'd, as well at the Novelty, as at the Rigour of the Puniſhment; and *Xicotencal* more than all the reſt at the Diſcovery of his Deſigns; this being the firſt Stroke which touch'd his Mind, and began to ſtagger his Reſolution; for he was perſuaded that thoſe Men could not have diſcover'd his Spies, and penetrated his Thoughts, without the Help of ſome Divinity: On which Reflection he began to be troubled, and doubtful which Way he ſhould manage; but when he was now inclin'd to reſolve on a Retreat, he found it neceſſary, by another Accident; and that which his Obſtinacy refuſed, was now done without his Conſent: For at this Time ſeveral Miniſters arriv'd from the Senate, who, by their Authority, inform'd him, that he muſt deliver up his Staff of General; for that by reaſon of his Diſobedience, and the Inſolence of his Anſwers, they had revoked the Power, by Virtue of which he commanded the Arms of the Republick. They alſo order'd the Captains not to obey him, upon Pain of being

ing declar'd Traytors to their Country. Now as this News came immediately on the Back of that Confuſion which the diſmembring of the Spies had cauſed in all, and in *Xicotencal* the Penetration of his Secret, no Man was ſo bold as to reply; but, on the contrary, all ſubmitted themſelves to the Commands of the Republick; and the Forces, prepar'd for carrying on the War, diſpers'd with extraordinary Readineſs; the Caziques marched to their own Lands; the *Tlaſcalans* took the Road to the City, without expecting farther Orders; and *Xicotencal*, who was now leſs reſolute, thought himſelf happy, that they had taken the Command out of his Hands, and return'd to the City attended only by his Friends and Relations; where he appear'd before the Senate, ill covering his Vexation with this Shew of his Obedience.

The *Spaniards* were that Night upon the Watch, and reſted the next Day without being negligent; for they were not well aſſured of the Intention of the Enemy, tho' the *Indians* that were brought under Contribution affirmed, that the Army was broke up, and a Treaty of Peace reſolv'd on. They continu'd thus in Suſpenſe till the next Day in the Morning, when the Centinels diſcover'd a Troop of *Indians*, who ſeem'd to them to come with Burdens on their Backs along the Road of *Tlaſcala*. *Hernan Cortes* order'd the Centinels to retire to the Place, and let them draw near. At the Head of this Troop came

four Persons of Rank well adorn'd, whose Habit and white Feathers denoted Peace: Behind them came their Servants; and after them twenty or thirty *Indian* Tamenes loaded with Provisions. From time to time they stopp'd, as fearful to approach, and made Signs of Respect and Humility towards the Quarters: They bowed their Bodies till they touch'd the Earth with their Hands, and then rais'd themselves, putting them to their Lips; a Respect they only shew'd to their Princes; and being come nearer, they paid their last Homages with the Smoak of their Censers. Then *Donna Marina* appear'd upon the Wall, and asked them in their Language, From whom, and for what Purpose they came? They answer'd, From the Senate and Republick of *Tlascala*, and to treat of Peace. Upon which they were permitted to enter.

HERNAN CORTES receiv'd them with proper State and Gravity, and they repeating their Bows and Perfumes, deliver'd their Embassy, which consisted of several Excuses for what had passed, frivolous, but sufficient in the main to shew their Repentance. They said, " That the *Otomies* and *Chontales*, bar-
" barous Nations of their Confederacy, had
" assembled their Troops, and made War
" contrary to the Opinion of the Senate
" whose Authority had not been able to re-
" press the first Sallies of their Fierceness
" but that they were now disarm'd, and the
" Republick very desirous of Peace: That
" they

" they did not only bring with them the " Voice of the Senate, but of the Nobles and " Common People, to requeſt that they would " march preſently with all their Soldiers to " the City, where they might ſtay as long as " they pleaſed with Security, and where they " ſhould be ſerved and reſpected as Children " of the Sun, and Brothers of their Gods." And thus they concluded their Diſcourſe, without being able handſomely to cover their Artifice in what related to the paſt War, but with ſome Shew of Sincerity in their Propoſition of Peace.

HERNAN CORTES a ſecond Time affected Severity; and reſtraining his inward Complacency from appearing on his Countenance, only anſwer'd, " That they ſhould un- " derſtand, and tell the Senate from him, that " it was no ſmall Demonſtration of his Good- " neſs to admit and hear them, when they " might juſtly fear his Indignation as Delin- " quents, and ought to receive Laws, as van- " quiſh'd: That the Peace they propoſed was " agreeable to his Inclination; but that they " ſought it after too unjuſt and obſtinate a " War to obtain it eaſily, or ſuddenly: That " he would ſee how they perſevered in de- " ſiring it, and what they did to deſerve it: " And in the mean Time, he would endea- " vour to appeaſe the Anger of his Captains, " and ſooth the Juſtice of his Arms; ſuſpend- " ing the Puniſhment with an up-lifted Arm, " that they might, with their Amendment,

" make use of what Time there was between " the Threat and the Blow."

CORTES answer'd them in this Manner, to gain some Time to recover of his Indisposition, and to inquire better into the Sincerity of their Proposal: For which End he thought it necessary, that those Messengers should return doubtful of the Success of their Negotiation, lest the Senate should grow proud and backward, by finding him very easy, or desirous of the Peace; for in this sort of Affairs, that which seems the farthest Way about, is often the shortest Cut; and Difficulties well managed, are better than Expedition.

CHAP. XXI.

New Ambassadors come from Motezuma *to the* Spanish *Quarters, to obstruct the Peace with* Tlascala. *The Senate perseveres in desiring it; and* Xicotencal *takes upon himself the Negotiation.*

THE Fame of the *Spaniards* increas'd with these Victories; and *Motezuma*, who had frequent Accounts of what passed in *Tlascala*, by the Observation of his Ministers, and the Diligence of his Couriers, began to be more apprehensive of his Danger, when he saw that warlike Nation, which had so often resisted his Armies, subdu'd and vanquish'd by so

ſo ſmall a Number of Men. He greatly admired the Actions which were reported of thoſe Strangers; and feared, that when once the *Tlaſcalans* were reduc'd to their Obedience, they might make uſe of their Rebellion, and of their Arms, and aim at greater Matters, to the Damage of his Empire. But it is very remarkable, that in the Midſt of ſo many Perplexities and Suſpicions, he did not bethink himſelf of his Power, or of forming an Army for his Defence and Security; on the contrary, without attempting to aſſemble his People, or daring to declare War, (as if with-held by ſome ſuperior Genius, that overawed his Spirit) he made uſe of political Arts, and was fluctuating among gentle Means. At this Time he had in view to prevent the Union of the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans:* and he did not think amiſs; for where there wants Reſolution, Prudence is wont to be very watchful and diligent. To this end, he reſolv'd to ſend a new Embaſſy and Preſent to *Cortes.* The Pretence was to congratulate him upon the good Succeſs of his Arms, and his aſſiſting him to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of his Enemies the *Tlaſcalans;* but the principal End was, to deſire, with new Inſtances, that he would not think of coming to his Court, laying before him greater Difficulties, which oblig'd him not to grant Permiſſion. The Ambaſſadors had ſecret Inſtructions to look into the State of the *Tlaſcalan* War, and endeavour (in caſe there was a Talk of Peace, and the *Spaniards*

seem'd inclinable to it) to divert and obstruct the Conclusion, without discovering their Prince's Concern, or quitting their Negotiation, till they had given him an Account, and waited his Orders.

FIVE *Mexicans* of the greatest Rank among the Nobility came with this Embassy; and travelling with some Circumspection on the Borders of *Tlascala*, arriv'd at the Quarters a little after the Ministers of the Republick were departed. *Hernan Cortes* receiv'd them with great Kindness and Courtesy; for *Motezuma*'s Silence had given him some Uneasiness. He heard the Embassy graciously, and receiv'd the Present with Thanks (being worth about a thousand Pieces of Eight, in several Pieces of light Gold, besides other Curiosities of Feathers and Cotton); but did not give them his Answer at that Time, because he was desirous they should, before their Departure, see the *Tlascalans* reduced, and desiring Peace; neither did they solicit to be dispatch'd, because they also desired to stay there. But it was not long ere they discover'd the whole Secret of their Instructions; for they told what they should have conceal'd, by asking Questions with little Discretion; and in a short Time all *Motezuma*'s Fear was known, as also of what Importance the Peace of *Tlascala* was, in order to bring him to Reason.

THE Republick, in the mean time, desiring to convince the *Spaniards* of their Sincerity, sent Orders to the neighbouring Villages to furnish

furniſh the Quarters with Proviſions, commanding them not to receive any Price for them; which was punctually executed, and the Army had Plenty of all Things, the Peaſants not daring to receive the leaſt Return. Two Days after they diſcover'd on the Road that led to the City a conſiderable Troop of *Indians*, who drew near with the Enſigns of Peace, of which *Cortes* being adviſed, gave Orders to admit them; and in order to receive them, mingled among his own Attendants, the *Mexican* Ambaſſadors, making a Matter of Confidence of That, which in Reality he was very unwilling they ſhould be ignorant of. The Chief of theſe *Tlaſcalans* was *Xicotencal* himſelf, who undertook the Charge of treating and concluding this great Affair; whether to ſatisfy the Senate, by atoning with this Action for his paſt Rebellion, or that he was perſuaded Peace was neceſſary, and being ambitious of Glory, did not care that the Good of the Republick ſhould be owing to another. He was attended by fifty Gentlemen of his Party and Parentage, well-dreſſed after their Manner. He was of more than a middle Stature, well-made, rather luſty than corpulent: His Habit was a white Mantle, put on after a handſome Manner, with ſome Jewels in their proper Places: His Face was of no agreeable Proportion, but yet ſuch as infuſed Reſpect, and more obſervable for its Boldneſs than Deformity. He came before *Cortes* with the free Air of a Soldier; and having

having paid his Respects, took his Seat, told who he was, and began his Speech: "Confessing that he was wholly to blame for the "past War, believing that the *Spaniards* were "Favourers of *Motezuma*, whose Name he "abhorr'd; but that now, as the first Witness "of their gallant Actions, he came with the "Merit of a Person submitting, to put himself into the Hands of his Conqueror; hoping by this Submission and Acknowledgment, to obtain Pardon for his Republick, "whose Name, Power, and Authority he had, "not to propose, but with all Submission, to "request Peace, and to accept it upon his own "Terms: That he asked it once, and twice, "and thrice, in the Name of the Senate, Nobles, and Commons of *Tlascala*, entreating "him with all Earnestness to honour the City "immediately with his Presence, where he "should find Quarters provided for all his Men, "and all the Respect and Service he could expect from those who, being brave, submitted to entreat and obey: But he would "only pray him, (and that not as a Condition "of the Peace, but as an Act of his own Goodness) that the Inhabitants might be well used, "and their Gods and Wives protected from "military Liberty."

Cortes was so pleased with the Discourse and Freedom of *Xicotencal*, that he could not forbear shewing it in his Countenance to those who stood by; suffering himself to be carried away by the Respect due to valiant Men; but he

he order'd *Donna Marina* to tell him ſo, that he might not think it was the Propoſal with which he was ſo much pleaſed; and then, reſuming his Gravity, laid before him, not without ſome Vehemence, " how little Reaſon his " Republick had to make ſuch an unjuſt War, " or he to ſupport ſuch a Piece of Injuſtice " with ſo much Obſtinacy." Upon which he enlarg'd as far as was neceſſary, without being tedious, and after having exaggerated the Crime, to enhance the Value of the Pardon, he concluded, " granting the Peace they de- " ſired, and promiſing that no Violence or " Extortion ſhould be committed by the Army " in their March." To which he added, that when he went to their City, he would give them Notice of it in Time, that they might make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for his Entry and Quarters.

XICOTENCAL was much concern'd at this Delay, looking on it as a Pretence for the better examining into the Sincerity of the Treaty: And turning his Eyes upon the Audience, " You have Reaſon, (ſaid he) Great *Teules*, (ſo " they call'd their Gods) to chaſtiſe our Sin- " cerity with your Diſtruſt: But if it be not " ſufficient to gain your Belief, when the " whole Republick of *Tlaſcala* ſpeaks to you " by me, I, who am the Captain-General of " their Armies, and theſe Gentlemen of my " Retinue, who are the principal Nobles, and " greateſt Captains of my Nation, will remain " as Hoſtages for your Security, and continue

" in

" in your Power, or be impriſon'd during the " whole Time you ſhall ſtay in our City." *Hernan Cortes* was much ſatisfy'd with this Offer: But as he always deſired to appear ſuperior, he anſwer'd, " That there was no Oc- " caſion for ſuch an Argument to convince " him, that they deſired that which was ſo " much for their Intereſt; nor did his Men " ſtand in need of Hoſtages to enter their City " in Security, and maintain themſelves there " without Fear, as they had already maintain'd " themſelves in the midſt of their Armies; " but that the Peace remain'd firm, and ſecur'd " in his Word; and he would march as ſoon " as he could diſpoſe Matters for it." With this he broke up the Conference, and waited upon them as far as the Gate of his Quarters, where he again embrac'd *Xicotencal*; and giving him his Hand, told him at parting, " That he would no longer delay the return- " ing of his Viſit, than only the ſhort Time " that was neceſſary to diſpatch the Ambaſſa- " dors of *Motezuma*." Which Words gave ſufficient Life to the Negotiation, tho' they ſeem'd to drop by chance.

He then ſtay'd with the *Mexicans*; and they made a Jeſt of the Peace, and of thoſe who propos'd it, proceeding ſo far as to blame (and not without a diſpleaſing Liberty) the Eaſineſs with which the *Spaniards* ſuffer'd themſelves to be perſuaded; and turning to *Cortes*, they told him, as by way of Inſtruction, " That they much wonder'd ſo wiſe a

" Man

" Man ſhould not have found out the *Tlaſ-*
" *calans*; a barbarous People, who ſupported
" themſelves more by their Deceits than their
" Forces: That he ſhould look well to what
" he was doing; for that they only endea-
" vour'd to bring him into a careleſs Security,
" that by the Help of that Advantage, they
" might deſtroy both him and his Men;" but when they ſaw that he ſtood fixed to his Word, declaring that he could not refuſe Peace to them that deſired it, nor forget the chief Aim and Intention of his Arms, they ſtood for ſome Time thoughtful; the Reſult of which was to deſire him, (their Perſuaſion being now turned to a Requeſt) that he would delay his March to *Tlaſcala* for ſix Days, in which Time the two Chiefeſt of their Number ſhould go and inform their Prince of what had paſſed, and the reſt would ſtay there to expect his Reſolution. To this *Hernan Cortes* conſented; for he did not think it proper to break through the Reſpect due to *Motezuma*, but rather to wait the Succeſs of this Expedition, which might poſſibly remove thoſe Difficulties he made of ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen. And thus he made his Advantage of the Inclinations he found in the *Tlaſcalans* and *Mexicans*, and heighten'd the Importance of the Peace, cauſeing it to be deſir'd by ſome, and fear'd by others.

The End *of the* Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY

Of the CONQUEST of MEXICO, *or* NEW SPAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the Voyage of thoſe ſent by Cortes *into* Spain; *with the Oppoſition and Impediments that retarded their Diſpatches.*

IT is now reaſonable that we return to the Captains *Alonſo Hernandez Porto Carrero* and *Franciſco de Montejo*, who ſail'd from *Vera Cruz* with the Preſent, and Letters for the King; the firſt Account, and the firſt Tribute of *New Spain*. They had a proſperous Voyage, tho' they might have run a Riſque by not complying literally with their Orders; the Interpretation of which very often ruins Affairs, and

and rarely hits with the Intention of the Superior. *Francisco de Montejo* had a certain Farm allotted for his Share in the Island of *Cuba*, near the *Havana*; and when they came in Sight of *Cape St. Anton*, he proposed to his Companion, and the Pilot *Juan de Alaminos*, to put in there, and furnish themselves with some Provisions, to help them out in their Voyage: For this Dwelling being so far from the City of *St. Jago*, where *Diego Velasquez* resided, they should deviate but little from the Substance of the Order *Cortes* had given them, to keep at a Distance from *Diego Velasquez*'s Government. He obtain'd his Desire, and enjoy'd the Satisfaction of seeing his Home; but ran the Risque of losing not only the Vessel, but also the Present, and the whole Business with which he was intrusted: For *Diego Velasquez*, whom his Jealousy of *Cortes* kept continually watchful, had distributed Spies among all the Habitations on the Coast, to give him an Account of whatsoever happen'd, suspecting that *Cortes* would send some of his Ships to the Island of *St. Domingo*, to give an Account of his Discovery, and ask Succour of the Religious Governors; which Application he was desirous to prevent and obstruct. By this Means he was presently acquainted with what passed in the Dwelling of *Montejo*; and in a very few Hours dispatched away two light Sailers, well mann'd and furnish'd with Artillery, with Orders to take that Ship of *Cortes* at all Risques. This was put in Execution with

with so much Diligence, that the Pilot *Alaminos* had Occasion for all his Skill, and good Fortune, to avoid the Danger which hazarded all the Advances made in *New Spain*.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo reflects with very little Reason on the Reputation of *Francisco de Montejo* (worthy of better Treatment, both on Account of his Quality and Courage). He charges him with betraying the Trust which *Cortes* had reposed in him; and says, he went ashore to his House, with a Design to set aside the Voyage, by giving *Diego Velasquez* an Opportunity of seizing the Ship; that he writ him a Letter of Advice, and sent it by a Sailor, who swam ashore; and other Circumstances without Foundation; in which he afterwards contradicts himself, by mentioning particularly with what Resolution and Activeness *Francisco de Montejo* oppos'd the Agents and Favourers of *Diego Velasquez* at the Court; but writes also, that the Envoys of *Cortes* did not find the Emperor in *Spain*; and affirms several other Matters, by which 'tis easily perceiv'd with what Facility he gave Ear to every Thing: And 'tis necessary to read his Works with Caution, where he has not been inform'd by his own Eyes. In fine, they continu'd their Course by the Channel of *Bahama*; *Anton de Alaminos* being the first Pilot who threw himself into the Danger of those Currents; and at that Time there was Occasion for all the Violence with which the Waters precipitate themselves between the

Lucaian

Lucaian Iſlands and *Florida*, to paſs quickly into the open Sea, and fruſtrate the Deſigns of *Velaſquez*.

The Weather favour'd them; and they ariv'd at *Sevil* in *October*, in an unlucky Conjuncture; for there they found the Chaplain *Benito Martin*, who came to the Court (as we have ſaid) to ſolicit the Intereſt of *Diego Velaſquez*, to whom he had ſent his Commiſſion of the King's Lieutenant, and was waiting for a Veſſel to return to *Cuba*. This Accident very much ſurpriz'd him, and being already introduc'd and known, he made uſe of this Advantage, complaining of *Hernan Cortes*, and thoſe who came in his Name, before the Miniſters of the *Contratation* (as they now call it) of the *Indies*, that is, the Directors of the Trade, declaring, "That the Ship belong'd 'to his Maſter *Diego Velaſquez*, together 'with all that was in her, as coming from 'thoſe Countries which he was commiſſion'd 'to conquer: That the landing on the Pro'vinces upon the Continent was done by 'Stealth, and without Authority; *Cortes* and thoſe with him, having made uſe of that Fleet which *Diego Velaſquez* had equipped for the ſame Enterprize: That the Captains *Porto Carrero* and *Montejo* ought to be ſeverely puniſhed, or at leaſt the Veſſel, with her Cargo, ought to be ſeiz'd, till ſuch Time as they prov'd their Right, and the Authority of their Commiſſion." *Diego Velaſquez* had many Friends in *Sevil*; for he was

liberal in his Preſents; and this is the ſame thing as to have Juſtice on one's Side, at leaſt in doubtful Caſes, where the Judgment commonly follows the Inclination. The Chaplain's Charge was admitted, and the Veſſel ſeiz'd, the Envoys of *Cortes* being permitted (as a conſiderable Grace) to reſort to the King.

WITH this Permiſſion the two Captains, and the Pilot *Alaminos*, departed for *Barcelona*, believing they ſhould find the Court in that City; but they came juſt as the King was gone to *Corunna*, whither he had ſummon'd the Eſtates of *Caſtile*, and where he had prepar'd his Navy to paſs over into *Flanders*, having now been ſome Time preſs'd by the *Germans* to accept of the Imperial Crown. They did not think fit to follow the Court, to avoid being obliged to diſcourſe in haſte on a Matter of ſuch Importance, which in the Hurry of the Journey, would make little Impreſſion by its ſurprizing Novelty, and not be duly conſider'd. Upon which Reflection they took the Road of *Medellin*, with a Deſign to viſit *Martin Cortes*, and try if they could perſuade him to go with them to the Preſence of the King, and authorize by his grey Hairs the Inſtances of his Son. They were receiv'd by that venerable old Man with all the Tenderneſs they could expect from a troubled and diſconſolate Father, who had already bewail'd the Death of a Son, in whom now he found, together with the News of his Life, as much to

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admire in his Actions, as to celebrate in his Fortune.

He determin'd to go preſently with them; and being inform'd that the Emperor (for ſo we ſhall call him now) would make ſome Stay in *Tordeſillas* to take Leave of his Mother, the Queen *Donna Juana*, and diſpatch ſome Affairs relating to his Journey, they there attended his Coming, and had their firſt Audience, being favour'd by an opportune Accident; for the Miniſters at *Sevil* not daring to detain, by way of Embargo, what came on account of the Emperor, it happen'd that *Cortes*'s Preſent, and the *Indians* of the new Conqueſt, arriv'd at the ſame Time. This occaſion'd the ſurprizing things which they related to be the better heard; for thoſe Curioſities of Gold, valuable for the Art, as well as Matter, the curious fine Works of Feathers and Cotton, and thoſe rational Creatures of ſuch extraordinary Phyſiognomy, that they looked like Men of another Species, were ſo many other Teſtimonies to make their wonderful Account believ'd.

The Emperor heard them very graciouſly; and the firſt Motion of his Royal Mind was to turn to God, and give him humble Thanks, that new Kingdoms were diſcover'd in his Time, where he might introduce his holy Name, and ſpread the Goſpel. He had ſeveral Conferences with them, and inform'd himſelf very carefully of the Affairs of that new World, of the Dominions and Forces of *Mo-*

tezuma, and of the Quality and Capacity of *Cortes*. He asked the Pilot *Alaminos* ſome Queſtions concerning the Navigation, and order'd the *Indians* ſhould be carried to *Sevil*, that they might preſerve their Healths better in a more temperate Climate; and by what could be gather'd at that Time of his good Diſpoſition to encourage that Undertaking, his Reſolves would have been ſhort and favourable, if he had not been taken up with other Affairs of the utmoſt Importance.

THERE came Letters every Day from the Cities, with Propoſitions little reſpectful. *Caſtile* complained that her Cortes were oblig'd to aſſemble in *Galicia*; the Kingdom was jealous of the King's Regard for the Empire; their Profeſſions of Obedience were mixed with Proteſtations; and, in ſhort, by little and little, the Seed of Rebellion began to take Root among the People. They all loved the King, and all loſt their Reſpect: They were troubled at his Abſence, and lamented the Want of him; and this natural Love, converted into Paſſion, or not well govern'd, in a ſhort Time threaten'd the Loſs of his Dominion. The Emperor reſolv'd to haſten his Journey, that he might be at a Diſtance from their Complaints; and he put it in Execution accordingly, believing he ſhould return in a ſhort Time, and then, without much Difficulty, correct thoſe ill Humours he left in Motion. The Succeſs was anſwerable to his Expectations: but tho' we conſider the high Motives which

which oblig'd him to take that Voyage, we cannot but acknowledge, he ran a very great Riſque. And, in Truth, he conſiders but little his Health, who runs into Exceſſes, upon a Suppoſition that he ſhall find Remedies in Time of Neceſſity.

Upon Account of theſe Diſturbances, the Demand of *Cortes* was referred to Cardinal *Adrian* and the Aſſembly of Prelates and Miniſters, who were of his Council in the Government, during the Abſence of the Emperor, with Orders, that after a Hearing before the Council of the *Indies*, they ſhould take a Medium with Regard to the Pretenſions of *Diego Velaſquez*, and encourage the Diſcovery and ſpiritual Conqueſt of that Country, which now was known by the Name of *New Spain*.

The Preſident of this Council (which was form'd ſome few Days before) was *Juan Rodriguez de Fonſeca* Biſhop of *Burgos*, aſſiſted by *Hernando de Vega* Lord of *Grajal*, *Don Franciſco Zapata*, *Don Antonio de Padilla* of the Royal Council, and *Pedro de Martir* of *Angleria*, Protonotary of *Aragon*. The Preſident was very well skill'd in the Affairs of the *Indies*, of which he had had the Management a long while, and all gave Way to his Authority and Experience. He openly favour'd *Diego Velaſquez*, either for that the Chaplain's Reaſons weighed with him, or elſe for the good Opinion he had of the Governor. *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo* relates the Cauſe of

this Partiality with a tedious Indecency. But as he only says what he heard, 'tis likely there is little or nothing in it. That which cannot be denied is, that the Cause of *Cortes* suffer'd much by what he urged against him, giving an ill Name to his Conquest, and treating it as a Crime of evil Consequence: He represented, that *Diego Velasquez*, by Virtue of the Title given him by the Emperor, was Chief of the Undertaking, and in Justice, of the Means by which it was prosecuted: He urg'd the little Reliance there was on a Man in Rebellion against his own Superior, and how much such Principles of Sedition ought to be fear'd in Provinces so remote: He protested the Damages which might ensue: And, in fine, press'd his Remonstrances with so much Vigour, that he put both the Cardinal, and those of the Assembly to a Stand. They were very sensible, that he appear'd over zealous in the Cause of *Velasquez*; yet they would not presume to determine so important a Point against so able a Minister; nor did they hold it convenient to give *Cortes* Occasion of Discontent, when he was so employed, and when they were in Truth oblig'd to him for the greatest Discovery that had been made. These Doubts and Oppositions so retarded their Resolution, that the Emperor return'd from his Journey, and other Agents arriv'd from *Cortes*, before they came to any Determination upon his Pretensions. All that *Martin Cortes* and his Friends could obtain, was, an Allow-

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ance of ſome Part of the Treaſure for their Expences, out of thoſe Effects which were ſeiz'd at *Sevil*; with which moderate Supply they were two Years in the Court, following the Councils, like unregarded Pretenders; the Intereſt of the Monarchy at that Time being made a private Affair, contrary to the many Inſtances, where private Intereſt is made that of the Publick.

CHAP. II.

Motezuma *endeavours to break the Peace of* Tlaſcala. *The People of that Republick continue their Inſtances.* Hernan Cortes *purſues his March, and makes his Entry into that City.*

DURING the ſix Days that *Hernan Cortes* continued in his Quarters to comply with the *Mexicans*, it was known by freſh Experience, with what Earneſtneſs the People of *Tlaſcala* deſir'd Peace; and how jealous they were of the diligent Negotiations of *Motezuma*. The Ambaſſadors, which were expected, came within the prefix'd Time, and were receiv'd with the uſual Civility. There came ſix Gentlemen of the Royal Family, with a very ſplendid Attendance, and another Preſent like the former, but ſomething greater in Value. One of them ſpoke, and (not with-

out premedated Words, and Exaggerations) laid before him, " How much the supreme Emperor " (and at the mentioning of his Name, they " all humbled themselves very low) desired to " be a Friend and Confederate of the Great " Prince, whom the *Spaniards* obey'd; whose " Majesty appear'd with so great a Lustre in " the Valour of his Subjects, that he found " himself inclin'd to pay a yearly Tribute, di- " viding with him those Riches with which " he abounded; for that he held him in great " Veneration, considering him as the Off- " spring of the Sun, or, at least, Lord of all " those most happy Regions, where Light is " first produced. But that two Conditions " were necessarily previous to this Agreement: " First, that *Hernan Cortes* and his People " should make no League with those of *Tlas-* " *cala*; for that it would by no Means be " right, after being so much obliged by the " Gifts of *Motezuma*, to take part with his " Enemies; and, secondly, that they should " lay aside all Thoughts of marching to " *Mexico*, a Design which was neither pos- " sible nor reasonable; for that by the Laws " of the Empire, the King could not suf- " fer himself to be seen by Strangers, nor " would his Subjects permit it: That they " should seriously consider the Dangers " of both those rash Undertakings; for " that the *Tlascalans* were so inclined to " Treachery and Robbery, that they would " only endeavour to bring them into a

" false

" falſe Security, in order to be revenged, " and to ſeize that Gold, wherewith the Em- " peror had enriched them; And that the " *Mexicans* were ſo zealous for their Laws, " and ſo ſtubborn a People, that his Authority " would not be ſufficient to reſtrain them; " nor could the *Spaniards* have juſt Reaſon " to complain of what they ſhould ſuffer, " after they had been ſo often admoniſhed " of the Danger." Thus did the *Mexican* deliver himſelf; and all the Embaſſies and Cares of *Motezuma* tended to hinder the *Spaniards* from coming nearer. After the Preſages which had happened, he look'd upon them with Horror; and feigning Obedience to his Gods, made that a Point of Religion which was only his Faintheartedneſs. *Cortes* at that Time ſuſpended his Anſwer; and only ſaid, " 'Twas but reaſonable they ſhould reſt " after their Journey, and that he would diſ- " patch them very ſoon." He deſired they ſhould be Witneſſes of the Peace of *Tlaſcala*; and likewiſe thought it of Importance to detain them, leſt *Motezuma* ſhould be inraged at the Account of his Reſolution, and begin to put himſelf upon his Guard; for he knew how unprovided he was at that Time, and with what Facility he could form his Armies.

THESE Embaſſies, to which the *Tlaſcalans* attributed the Delay of *Cortes*, gave them ſo much Uneaſineſs, that the Government came to a Reſolution (as the laſt Proof of their Affection) to go to his Quarters in the Form of

of a Senate, in order to conduct him to their City, determining not to return till they had convinced him of the Sincerity of their Treaty, and broke off the Negotiations of the *Mexicans*. The Appearance was solemn and numerous, with Ornaments and Feathers of a Colour denoting Peace. The Senators were brought in Chairs upon the Shoulders of inferior Officers; and in the most honourable Rank *Magiscatzin*, (who always favoured the *Spaniards*) and the Father of *Xicotencal*, a venerable old Man, who had lost his Sight with Age, but without any Detriment to his Understanding; for he still preserved the Character of a wise Man among the Counsellors. A little before they came to the House where *Cortes* expected them, they alighted; and the blind Man advancing foremost, desired those who led him to bring him near the Captain of the Eastern People. He embrac'd him with extraordinary Satisfaction; then touched several Parts of him, as if he were desirous to know him, and supply with his Hands the Defect of his Sight. They all seated themselves, and at the Request of *Magiscatzin*, the blind Man spoke after this Manner:

" Now, valiant Captain, (whether you be " of mortal Race, or not) you hold in your " Power the Senate of *Tlascala*, the utmost " Proof of our Submission. We come not " to excuse the Errors of our Nation, but to " take them upon ourselves, depending upon " our own Sincerity for your Forgiveness.

" We

" We were the Men who reſolved upon the " War; but we are likewiſe the Men who " have determined Peace: The firſt was haſty, " and the ſecond ſlow; but Reſolutions well " conſidered are not uſually the worſt: On " the Contrary, it requires Pains to efface " that which hath been impreſſed with Diffi- " culty; and I can aſſure you, that the very " Delay hath given us a greater Knowledge " of your Valour, and laid a deeper Founda- " tion of our Conſtancy. We are not igno- " rant, that *Motezuma* endeavours to diſ- " ſuade you from our Confederacy: Hearken " to him as you would to our Enemy, if you " will not conſider him as a Tyrant, as " ſurely he ſhould appear, ſince he perſuades " you to act unjuſtly. We do not deſire " your Aſſiſtance againſt him, for provided " you are not on his Side, our own Forces " are ſufficient; and we ſhall only be ſorry " that you truſt your Security to his Offers, " becauſe we are acquainted with his Artifices " and Subtilties. Here in my Blindneſs ſome " Lights offer themſelves, which diſcover to " me your Danger at a Diſtance. Perhaps " *Tlaſcala* ſhall be famous in the World for " the Defence of your Cauſe; but let us leave " your being undeceived to Time, it needs " no Prophecy to explain what may be ſo ea- " ſily gathered from his Tyranny, and our " Fidelity. You have already offered us Peace; " if *Motezuma* does not hinder you, what " is it that does? Why do you deny our ear-

" neſt

" neſt Requeſts? Why do you forbear to " honour our City with your Preſence? We " are come reſolved at once to gain your " good Will and Confidence, or put our " Liberty into your Hands; therefore chuſe " which of the two is the moſt grateful. As " to ourſelves there is no Medium between " the two Fortunes, of being either your " Friends, or your Priſoners."

THUS did the venerable old Man conclude his Speech, that there might not be wanting an *Appius Claudius* in this Council, like to the Other, who made an Oration in the Senate againſt the *Epirotes*; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Tlaſcalans* were Men of more than ordinary Reaſon, as has appeared in their Government, Actions, and Diſcourſes. Some Writers, ill affected to the *Spaniſh* Nation, treat the *Indians* as Brutes incapable of Reaſon, thereby to leſſen the Glory of the Conqueſt. It is true, they admired with Simplicity at the Sight of Men of another Kind, Colour, and Habit; they beheld a Beard as a Thing monſtrous, (Nature having denied it them); they gave Gold for Glaſs; and believ'd Fire-Arms to be Lightning, and Horſes to be wild Beaſts: But all was the Effect of Novelty, which does not leſſen the Underſtanding; for tho' Admiration ſuppoſes Ignorance, it does not ſuppoſe Incapacity; nor can that properly be called Ignorance which proceeds from a Want of due Information. God made them rational; and notwithſtanding he

permitted

permitted their Blindneſs, he did not the leſs endow them with all the Capacity and Gifts of Nature, that were neceſſary for the Preſervation of their Species, and the Perfection of his own Work. But let us return to our Narration, leſt we ſhould do Honour to the Calumny, by being too long upon the Defence.

CORTES could not reſiſt this Demonſtration of the Senate's good Will; nor did he now hope for any Thing more, the Time offered to the *Mexicans* being paſs'd: He therefore anſwered the Senators with much Reſpect, and made them ſome Preſents, deſiring by thoſe to confirm to them the Satisfaction he received, and the Confidence he put in them. It was neceſſary to uſe ſome Reſolution and Authority to perſuade them to return; which at length he effected, after having given his Word to remove his Quarters to the City immediately, without any more Delay than was neceſſary to aſſemble ſome People of the neighbouring Villages, to conduct his Artillery and Baggage. They took his Word, making him repeat it to them, more out of Affection than Suſpicion, and ſo return'd well ſatisfy'd, taking upon themſelves the Care of ſending *Cortes* a ſufficient Number of *Indians* of Burden; and ſcarce had the Sun begun to ſhine the next Morning, when the *Spaniards* found five hundred *Tamenes* at their Quarters, ſo officious to ſerve, that they diſputed about their Burdens, and made Pretenſions to their own Labour.

PREPA-

PREPARATIONS were immediately made for the March; and the Men being drawn up in a Body, with the Artillery and Baggage in their proper Places, they took the Road of *Tlascala*, with all the good Order, Caution, and Care usually observed in this little Army; to which exact Discipline they owed good Part of their Success. The Fields on both Sides were filled with innumerable *Indians*, who came forth from their Habitations at the Novelty of this Sight; and the Outcries and Behaviour of them were such, as might have passed for the Clamours and Threatnings of War, if *Donna Marina* had not acquainted the *Spaniards*, that they were accustomed in that Manner to express their Joy upon their Festivals; and that celebrating, after their Fashion, the Happiness they had obtained, they blest and praised their new-acquired Friends; with which Information the Noise was the better borne: Patience being necessary at that Time to suffer Applause.

THE Senators came a considerable Way out of the City to receive the *Spaniards*, with all the Ostentation and Pomp customary upon publick Solemnities, attended by the Nobles, who thought it an Honour, on those Occasions, to assist the Ministers of the Republick. When they came up, they made their Reverences, and without farther stopping, turn'd about and march'd before; signifying by this hasty Respect, how much they desired

to

to forward the March, without detaining thoſe they accompanied.

At their Entrance into the City, it reſounded with Shouts and Acclamations, a much greater Noiſe than before, becauſe mixed with the diſagreeable Muſick of their Flutes, Drums, and Horns. So great was the Concourſe of People, that the Officers of the Senate had much Trouble to manage the Multitude, that the Paſſage of the Street might be left free. The Women threw various Sorts of Flowers on the *Spaniards*; thoſe who were bolder, and leſs reſerved, drew near, and put the Flowers into their Hands. The Prieſts, dragging after them their long Garments in which they ſacrificed, came out with their Copper Cenſers, and without knowing whether they did Right or Wrong, expreſs'd their Applauſe by the Smoke. They all ſhewed in their Countenances the Sincerity of their Hearts, but variouſly affected; for Admiration and Satisfaction were mix'd together, and Joy was tempered with Veneration. The Quarters provided, which contained all Things neceſſary for their Convenience, and good Entertainment, was the beſt Houſe in the City, which had three or four ſpacious ſquare Courts, with ſo many, and ſuch large Chambers, that *Cortes*, without any Difficulty, kept all his People together there in one Body. He carried with him the Ambaſſadors of *Motezuma*, though they were unwilling, and lodged them near himſelf; becauſe

because their Persons were secure under his Protection, and they seemed afraid of some Violence.

THE Entry into, and last Reduction of *Tlascala*, was on the Twenty-third of *September* of the same Year 1519; a Day on which the *Spaniards* gained a Peace, with the Circumstances of a Triumph, so durable, and of so great Consequence for the Conquest of *New Spain*, that to this Day they enjoy several Privileges and Exemptions in that Province, as a Reward of that first Friendship; an honourable Monument of their antient Fidelity.

CHAP. III.

The Description of the City of Tlascala. *The Senators complain of the* Spaniards *going armed, being grieved at their Distrust.* Cortes *satisfies them; and endeavours to make them quit their Idolatry.*

TLASCALA was in those Days a very populous City, founded upon four Eminences of different Largeness, little distant from each other: they ran in Length from East to West, and secure in the natural Strength of their Rocks, contain'd within them all the Buildings; forming four Commands, or distinct Wards, which were united, and had a Communication by several Streets with very thick Walls, which served as a Defence to the

the Town. Theſe Wards were governed by four Caziques, who held them as Fiefs, (being deſcended from the firſt Founders) but depended on the Senate; in which they commonly aſſiſted, yet under an entire Subjection to its Orders in all State-Affairs, and Appeals made to it by their Vaſſals. The Houſes were raiſed moderately high, for they had no ſecond Story: The Building was of Stone, or Brick; and inſtead of cooping Roofs of Tiles, they were flat at the Top with Galleries. The Streets were narrow and crooked, as the Steepneſs and Ruggedneſs of the Mountain would allow: A very extraordinary Situation and Architecture, more for Defence than Commodiouſneſs.

The whole Province was about fifty Leagues in Circumference; the Length, ten from Eaſt to Weſt; the Breadth, four from North to South. A broken mountainous Country, but very fertile, and well cultivated in all Parts, where the Plenty of Streams enabled them to improve the Land. It was ſurrounded on all ſides with Provinces depending on *Motezuma*; only on the North, the great *Cordillera*, or Ridge of Mountains, rather clos'd them in, than divided their Limits; by whoſe inacceſſible Craggs they had Communication with the *Otomies*, *Totonaques*, and other barbarous Nations of their Confederacy. The Towns were many, and near to each other: The People from their Childhood inclined to Superſtition, and the Uſe of Arms; in the Manage-

ment of which they exercised themselves with great Emulation, whether it was the Climate or Necessity that made them valiant. They abounded in Maiz, or *Indian* Wheat; and this Grain so well answered the Labour of the Husbandman, that it gave the whole Province the Name of *Tlascala*, a Word which, in their Language, signifies the Land of Bread. They had great Variety of Fruit, and very delicious; Game of all Sorts; and one of their plentiful Productions, was the *Cochinilla*, the Use of which they understood not till they were taught it by the *Spaniards*. It is likely it was so call'd from the *Coccinean*, or Scarlet Grain, whence our *Grana* or Scarlet-Dye likewise took its Name; but in these Parts it is a kind of Insect, like a small Worm, which is bred and continues to the last upon the Leaves of a wild thorny Tree, which they called then the wild *Tuna*, or the *Wood-Thistle*. Now they take great Care of it, as of a Fruit-Tree, as owing their greatest Commerce and Profit to the precious Dye of those Worms, nothing inferior to the Purple discovered by the Antients in the Blood of the *Murex*, so much celebrated for being us'd in the Robes of their Kings.

But the natural Felicity of this Country was not without an Allay; for the Neighbourhood of the Mountains made it subject to great Tempests, horrible Hurricanes, and frequent Inundations of the River *Zahual*, which not contented some Years with the Destruction of

of their Harveſt, and taking away Trees by the Roots, was wont to endanger Houſes on the Tops of Eminencies. 'Tis ſaid, that *Zahual*, in their Language, ſignifies the *River of the Itch*; for that thoſe who drank the Waters, or bath'd in them, were cover'd with that Diſtemper; a ſecond Malignity of the River. Nor was the want of Salt the leaſt Misfortune that *Tlaſcala* ſuffer'd, which made them diſreliſh all their Abundance; and tho' they might have brought it eaſily from the Lands of *Motezuma*, in Exchange for their Wheat, they held it leſs inconvenient to eat their Victuals without ſeaſoning, than to have an open Commerce with their Enemies.

These, and other Obſervations of their Government, (which indeed were remarkable in that unpoliſh'd People) cauſed Admiration in the *Spaniards*, and made them act with Caution. *Cortes* diſſembled his Apprehenſions, but continued the Guards in his Quarters; and when he went out into the City with the *Indians*, he took Part of his Men with him, not forgetting their Fire-Arms. The Soldiers alſo went together in Companies, and with the ſame Precaution; all endeavouring to expreſs a Confidence in their new Allies, yet after ſuch a Manner as to have no Appearance of Careleſſneſs. But the *Indians*, who deſired the Friendſhip of the *Spaniards* without any Artifice or Affectation, were grieved upon a Point of Honour, that they did not lay aſide their Arms, and give

entire Credit to their Fidelity; a Point which was debated in the Senate; by whose Order, *Magiscatzin* came to signify their Opinion to *Cortes*; and layed before him, "How unsuitable those warlike Precautions "were in a Place, where all were subject, "obedient, and desirous to please; that the "great Vigilance with which the *Spaniards* "lived in their Quarters, shewed how little "they thought themselves secure; and that "the Soldiers, who passed thro' the City with "Lightning always upon their Shoulders, "tho' they did no Hurt, offended more by "that Distrust, than if they really committed "Violences." *He added*, "That Arms should "be looked upon as an useless Load, where "they were not necessary; and appeared ill "among those who were sincerely Friends, "and disarmed:" And concluded, intreating *Cortes*, after a most friendly Manner, in the Name of the Senate, and all the City, "That "he would command those Precautions, "and disagreeable Appearances to cease, "which seemed to preserve Signs of an un-"finish'd War, or were, at least, Indications "of a scrupulous Friendship."

Cortes answered him, "That he was "well satisfied of the Good-will of the People "of *Tlascala*, and without the least Suspicion, "that any Thing could happen in Breach of "that Peace, which they had so much desired; "that the Guards kept, and the Vigilancy ob-"served in his Quarters, were conformable to

" to the Cuſtom of his Country, where the " Soldiers lived always after a military Man- " ner, and enured themſelves in Times of " Peace to the Fatigues of War, by which " Means they learned Obedience, and were " accuſtomed to Vigilance: That their Arms " were an Ornament, and Part of their Ha- " bit, which they wore as a Piece of Finery " belonging to their Profeſſion; for which " Reaſon he deſired them to remain aſſured " of his Friendſhip, and that they would not " think ſtrange of thoſe Things which were " proper to the Soldiery, and conſiſtent with " the Peace he had made with their Nation." He found the Way to ſatisfy his Friends, without abating any Part of his Caution; and *Magiſcatzin*, a Man of a warlike Spirit, who had in his Youth commanded the Arms of the Republick, was ſo well pleaſed with this laudable Cuſtom, that he not only returned without Complaint, but was deſirous to introduce into their own Armies this Kind of Vigilance and Diſcipline, which diſtinguiſhed and made good Soldiers.

With this Account the People were quieted, and all aſſiſted the *Spaniards* with a diligent Obſequiouſneſs, and even Servitude. Every Day diſcovered more of their good Will. Their Preſents were many, all Sorts of wild Fowl, and extraordinary Fruits, with ſome Cloaths, and Curioſities of little Value. However, it was the beſt the Penury of thoſe Mountains could afford, which debarred them

the Commerce of thoſe Regions which produced Gold and Silver.

THE beſt Hall of the Quarters was reſerved for a Chapel; in which, upon certain Steps, was raiſed an Altar, and ſome Images placed with all poſſible Decency. The holy Sacrifice of the Maſs was celebrated every Day in the Preſence of the principal *Indians*, who were ſilent either out of Reſpect, or Admiration; and tho' they were not devout themſelves, they took Care not to diſturb the Devotion of others. They remarked all that paſſed; every Thing was new and ſurpriſing to them, and cauſed greater Eſteem of the *Spaniards*; whoſe Virtues they were ſenſible of and reverenced, rather for that they make themſelves be loved, than that the *Indians* either knew the Names, or exerciſed any of them.

ONE Day *Magiſcatzin* asked *Cortes*, "Whether he was mortal? For (*ſaid he*) your "Actions, and thoſe of your People, ſeem "more than natural, and to have that Sort "of Goodneſs and Greatneſs in them, which "we attribute to our Gods: But I do not un- "derſtand thoſe Ceremonies, with which you "appear to acknowledge a Superior Deity; "for you make Preparations for a Sacrifice, "yet I do not perceive any Victim or Offer- "ing with which to appeaſe the Gods; nor "do I underſtand how there can be a Sacrifice, "unleſs ſome one dies for the ſake of the "reſt." *Cortes* took hold of this Opportunity;

nity; and ſatisfying his Queſtions, ingenuouſly confeſſed, " That his Condition, and that of " his People, was mortal;" for he durſt not temporize with the miſtaken Notions of thoſe People, when the infallible Truth of his Religion was in Queſtion. But he added, " That " as they were born in a better Climate, " they had more Underſtanding, and were of " greater Strength than the reſt of Men;" and without admitting the Attribute of Immortal, he remained with the Reputation of Invincible. *Cortes* told him likewiſe, " That " they not only acknowledged a Superior in " Heaven, where they adored the only Lord " of the Univerſe; but were likewiſe Subjects " and Vaſſals to the greateſt Monarch upon " Earth, under whoſe Dominion, they alſo " of *Tlaſcala* then were; ſince being Bro- " thers to the *Spaniards*, they could do no " other than obey the ſame Prince." He immediately from that went on to diſcourſe of the Point moſt eſſential; and tho' he ſpoke moſt fervently againſt Idolatry, finding in his own good Senſe, ſufficient Foundation to oppoſe and deſtroy the Multiplicity of their Gods, and the abominable Horror of their Sacrifices; yet when he came to touch upon the Myſteries of Faith, he thought they deſerved a better Expoſitor; and as he knew when to be ſilent, he then gave an Opportunity to Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* to ſpeak. That Religious Perſon endeavoured to bring them by Degrees to the Knowledge of the Truth, explaining like a learned and prudent Man

the principal Points of the Christian Religion, after such a Manner, that he might gain the Will, without overcharging the Understanding; for 'tis by no Means convenient to strike with a Blaze of Light upon the Eyes of those who are just come out of Darkness. *Magiscatzin*, and the rest who attended him, gave at that Time but very small Hopes of their being reduc'd; saying, "That the God whom "the *Spaniards* adored, was very great, and "perhaps greater than theirs; but that each "of them was powerful in his own Dominion; That, with them, there was need of "one God against Lightning and Tempests; "of another, for Water and Harvests; of another for War; and so on for all other "human Necessities: For that it was impossible for any one to take Care of the "Whole." They admitted the Proposition of their Temporal Lord with more Ease; for they immediately consented to be his Subjects, and asked whether he would defend them from *Motezuma*, placing in that the Foundation of their Obedience; but at the same Time desired him, with Humility and Earnestness, "That there might be no Mention of "changing their Religion: For should it come "to the Knowledge of their Gods, they "would call down their Tempests, and let "loose their Floods to destroy them." In such manner did Error possess them, and the Devil keep them in Fear. All that could be obtained of them at that Time, was, to lay aside

aſide Sacrifices of human Blood; for they were convinced they acted againſt the Law of Nature: And immediately they ſet at Liberty thoſe miſerable Captives which were to die on their Feſtivals, and broke up ſeveral Priſons and Cages where they were kept, and well fed, to prepare them; not ſo much that they ſhould come decent to the Sacrifice as that they ſhould not come in bad Order to the Table.

HERNAN CORTES was not ſatisfied with this Complaiſance; but on the contrary propoſed to his Men, that they ſhould deſtroy all the Idols; forming a Conſequence from the Action and good Succeſs at *Zempoala*, as if it had been the ſame Thing to undertake ſuch an Affair in a Town that was ſo much better peopled. His Zeal deceived him, and his Courage did not diſabuſe him. But Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* ſoon brought him to Reaſon, telling him, with a Reſolution becoming his Character, "That he was not "without ſome Scruples concerning the Vio- "lence offer'd to the People of *Zempoala*; "that Perſecution and the Goſpel did ill "agree; and, that in Effect, it would only "overturn their Altars, and leave the Idols "in their Hearts:" To which he added, "That "the Deſign of reducing thoſe Infidels re- "quired more Time, and gentle Uſage; "that it was no good Method of bringing "them to the Knowledge of their Errors, to "vex them after that Manner, which would "only

" only ſerve to make them diſlike the Truth; " and that before the Worſhip of God could " be introduc'd, the Devil muſt be baniſh'd; " a War of another Kind, and which re- " quired a different Sort of Arms." To whoſe Perſuaſion and Authority *Cortes* ſubmitted his Opinion, and moderated his Zeal; and from that Time forwards they only endeavoured to gain and diſpoſe the Minds of the *Indians*, by making Religion appear amiable in her Works, that upon the View of them, they might be ſenſible of the Difference, and Abomination of their own Cuſtoms, and in theſe ſee the Deformity and Filthineſs of their Gods.

CHAP. IV.

Hernan Cortes *diſpatches the Ambaſſadors of* Motezuma. Diego de Ordaz *views the Burning Mountain of* Popocatepec; *it is reſolved to march to* Cholula.

THREE or four Days being paſſed in theſe firſt Affairs of *Tlaſcala*, *Cortes* began to think of diſpatching *Motezuma*'s Ambaſſadors. He had detained them purpoſely, that they might ſee thoſe People entirely reduced, whom they accounted untameable, and the Anſwer he gave them was ſhort and artful: " That they ſhould inform " *Motezuma*

" *Motezuma* of what had paſſed in their Pre-
" ſence; the Earneſtneſs and Methods by
" which the People of *Tlaſcala* had ſolicited
" Peace, and deſerved it; together with the
" Affection and good Correſpondence with
" which they maintained it: That now they
" were ſo much at his Diſpoſal, and he had
" ſuch an entire Command over them, that
" he hoped he ſhould reduce them to the
" Obedience of *Motezuma:* This being one
" of the good Conſequences which would at-
" tend his Embaſſy, among others of greater
" Importance, which obliged him to continue
" his Journey, and to ſolicite his Goodneſs
" then, that he might afterwards deſerve his
" Acknowledgments." With this Diſpatch, and the neceſſary Guard, the Ambaſſadors immediately departed, more convinced of the Truth than ſatisfied with the Anſwer.

HERNAN CORTES found himſelf engaged to ſtay ſome Days in *Tlaſcala*, to receive the Homage of the principal Towns of the Republick, and their Confederates; which Act was made valid by a publick Inſtrument, and authorized with the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, already known and reverenced among the *Indians*, who ſhewed the Sincerity of their Subjection to him by the Reſpect they paid his Vaſſals.

AT this Time there happened an Accident which ſurpriſed the *Spaniards*, and ſtruck a Terror among the *Indians*. From the higheſt of the Eminences, whereon the City of *Tlaſcala*

cala then ſtood, is to be ſeen the Volcano of *Popocatepec*, on the Top of a Mountain, which, at the Diſtance of eight Leagues, riſes conſiderably above all the reſt of the Hills. This Volcano began to darken the Day, with great and frightful Flights of Smoke, ſo rapid and violent, that it went up a great Way into the Air direct, without giving Way to the Force of the Wind, until having ſpent its Fury at a certain Height, it ſcatter'd and diſpers'd itſelf all round, forming a Cloud, more or leſs obſcure, according to the Quantity of Aſhes it carried along with it. From time to time, mixed with the Smoke, came forth Flames, or Globes of Fire, which ſeemed to divide themſelves into Sparks, and probably were the burnt Stones which the Mountain threw out, or ſome Pieces of combuſtible Matter, which laſted as long as the Fire was fed.

The *Indians* were not frighted at the Sight of the Smoke, becauſe 'twas frequent, and an ordinary Thing in that Place: But the Fire (which rarely appeared) made them ſorrowful, and put them in Fear, as a Preſage of future Ills; for they apprehended, that thoſe Sparks which were ſcatter'd through the Air, and did not fall down again into the Burning Mouth, were the Souls of Tyrants that came abroad to chaſtiſe the Earth; and that their Gods, when they were angry, made uſe of them as Inſtruments, in Proportion to the Puniſhments they deſigned.

MAGISCATZIN, and some of the chief Men, who generally attended him, were entertaining *Hernan Cortes* with these wild Fancies; and he (observing the rude Notion they had of the Immortality, Rewards, and Punishments of the Soul) was endeavouring to make them sensible of the Errors with which they disfigured the Truth, when *Diego de Ordaz* came to ask his Leave to go take a nearer View of the Volcano, offering to go up to the Top of the Mountain, and examine into that great Secret of Nature. The *Indians* were amaz'd to hear such a Proposal, and endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Intention, by informing him of the Danger, saying, "That the most valiant of their Nation had only the Boldness once to visit "some Hermitages of their Gods about the "Middle of the Eminence; but that above "that he would not find the Mark of a human Foot; nor were the Tremblings to be "endur'd, or the Roarings, which forbad all "Approach to the Top of the Mountain." The Account of these Difficulties did but make *Diego de Ordaz* the more eager; and tho' *Hernan Cortes* thought it a Piece of Rashness, yet he gave him Leave to try, that the *Indians* might see that what they thought impossible, was not so to the Courage of the *Spaniards*. So zealous was he at all times for his own Reputation, and that of his People.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ upon this Occasion was accompanied by two Soldiers of his Company,

pany, and some of the principal *Indians*, who offered to go with him as far as the Hermitages, very much lamenting that they were going to be Witnesses of his Death. The Beginning of the Mountain is very delightful, being beautified on all Sides with Trees full of Leaves, which, for a considerable Way, cover the Side of the Hill, and make the Ascent appear the less tedious, seeming, in a deceitful Manner, to entice, by Pleasure, into Danger. When that is passed, the Earth grows barren by Degrees, partly by Reason of the Snow, which lies all the Year in those Places, where either the Sun or the Fire does not come, and partly by reason of the Ashes, which also look white at a Distance, from the Opposition of the Blackness of the Smoke. The *Indians* stopp'd at the Hermitages; and *Diego de Ordaz*, with his two Soldiers, went on, climbing courageously up the Rocks, very often making use of Hands as well as Feet. But when they came within a small Distance of the Top, they felt the Earth move under them with Violence, and repeated Rockings, and heard the horrible Roaring of the Burning Mouth, which in a short Time discharged, with a much greater Noise, a vast Quantity of Fire, wrapped up in Smoke and Ashes; and tho' it went directly upwards, without heating the Air about it, it afterwards spread when it was at its Height, and came down upon the three *Spaniards* in such Showers of Ashes, so thick and hot, that they were obliged to seek

ſeek for Shelter in the Hollow of a Rock, where they were almoſt ſtifled, and deſired to return. But *Diego de Ordaz* perceiving the Earthquake was over, that the Noiſe leſſened, and the Smoke came out leſs thick, encouraged his Companions by his Example; for going on before them, he paſſed with Intrepidity to the very Mouth of the Mountain, at the Bottom whereof he obſerved a great Maſs of Fire, which ſeemed to boil like ſomething liquid, and ſhining. He alſo took Notice of the Largeneſs of the Mouth, which took up all the Top of the Mountain, and might be about a Quarter of a League in Circumference. They returned with this Account; and received a Welcome back from their bold Undertaking, which greatly aſtoniſhed the *Indians*, and increaſed their Eſteem for the *Spaniards*.

This Gallantry of *Diego de Ordaz* was look'd upon then as only a raſh Curioſity; but Time made it of Importance, and every Thing ſerved to advance this Undertaking; for the Army being in Want of Powder, (the ſecond Time they enter'd *Mexico*, which was by Force of Arms) *Cortes* remember'd the Boilings of liquid Fire which were diſcovered in this Mountain, and in it found a ſufficient Quantity of very fine Sulphur, for the making of Gun-Powder. On which Account this Raſhneſs of *Diego de Ordaz* recommended itſelf, and became ſerviceable; and his Diſcovery was ſo uſeful in the Conqueſt, that the Emperor

Emperor afterwards rewarded him with some Favours, and ennobled the Action by giving him the Burning Mountain for his Arms.

TWENTY Days the *Spaniards* continu'd in *Tlascala*, partly on Account of Visits paid them by the Neighbouring Nations, and partly to satisfy the Inhabitants themselves; who agreed so well with the *Spaniards*, that they endeavoured to put off the Time appointed for removing, with various Festivals and publick Entertainments, Dances after their Manner, and Acts of Agility.

THE Day being fixed for the March, there arose a Dispute about the Choice of the Road: *Cortes* inclined for *Cholula*, a City (as we have said) very large, in whose Districts the Veteran Troops of *Motezuma* used to quarter.

THE *Tlascalans* opposed this Resolution, advising them to take their March by *Guajozingo*, a Country plentiful and secure; for the People of *Cholula*, besides their natural Cunning and Treachery, obeyed *Motezuma* with a servile Fear, being the Vassals in whom he most confided for their known Fidelity. To which they added, " That that City had " the Reputation in all the Districts thereabouts, of being a Place sacred and religious, " containing above four hundred Temples, " with such ill-conditioned Gods, that they " astonished and terrified the World with " their Prodigies; for which Reason it was by " no Means secure to enter their Territories,

" without

' without having ſome Aſſurances of their ' good Diſpoſition." The *Zempoalans*, leſs ſuperſtitious now by their Accquaintance with he *Spaniards*, deſpiſed thoſe Prodigies; but were of the ſame Opinion, remembring and repeating the Reaſons they had given at *Zo-othlan*, for the Army's avoiding that City.

But before they came to any Reſolution on this Point, new Ambaſſadors arrived from *Motezuma*, with another Preſent, and Advice hat their Emperor would now ſuffer himſelf o be viſited by the *Spaniards*, and vouchſafe o receive their Embaſſy after a favourable Manner; and among other Things they diſ-ourſed, of relating to the March, they ac-uainted him that they had provided Quarters t *Cholula*. So that now it was become ne-eſſary to march by that City; not that *Cortes* lac'd any Confidence in this unlooked-for id ſudden Change of *Motezuma*, or that ich Facility, after ſo much Reſiſtance, did ot appear unſeaſonable and ſuſpicious: But he ook great Care, that theſe *Mexicans* ſhould ot perceive him concerned; becauſe in their ear he placed his greateſt Security. As ſoon the Chiefs of the *Tlaſcalans* underſtood the :opoſal of *Motezuma*, they took it for anted, that Treachery was deſigned at *Cho-la*, and renewed their Inſtances, being ſin-rely concerned at the Danger of their Friends. nd *Magiſcatzin*, who had the greateſt Re-rd for the *Spaniards*, and a paſſionate Incli-tion in particular for *Cortes*, preſs'd him

very much not to march to that City. *Cortes*, who was deſirous to give him all the Satiſfaction he could, as being much obliged for the Care he took of him, and eſteeming very much his Advice, immediately aſſembled his Captains, and in his Preſence propoſed the Queſtion, weighing the Reaſons that offered both on the one Side, and on the other; and the Reſolution was, " That now they could " not poſſibly avoid marching to thoſe Quar- " ters propoſed by the *Mexicans*, without " diſcovering that they were already ſuſpi- " cious; nor, ſhould their Suſpicions be ever " ſo well founded, was it proper to enter upon " more dangerous Enterpriſes, and leave Trai- " tors at their Back; that therefore it was " neceſſary for them to go to *Cholula*, to diſ- " cover the Intentions of *Motezuma*, and " give a new Reputation to their Arms by " the Chaſtiſement of his Perfidy." *Magiſcatzin* acquieſced in this Reſolution, ſubmitting with great Docility to the ſuperior Judgment of the *Spaniards*. But ſtill retaining his Jealouſy, which obliged him to think differently, he deſired Leave to aſſemble the Troops of his Republick, and aſſiſt his Friend in ſuch evident Danger; for that it was no reaſonable, tho' the *Spaniards* were invincible to deprive the *Tlaſcalans* of the Honour of performing their Duty. *Hernan Cortes* (notwithſtanding he was ſenſible of the Danger and well pleaſed with the Offer) was backward to admit them; for it was diſagreeable

t

o him to begin ſo ſoon to receive Succour rom a Nation ſo lately reduc'd; and there- ore he anſwer'd him, by making great Ac- knowledgments for his Care; and laſtly told im, "That at the preſent that Precaution 'was not neceſſary;" but this he ſaid faintly, ike one who is deſirous to have a Thing done, nd is unwilling at the ſame time to be thought o: a kind of Refuſal, which is little leſs than Asking.

CHAP. V.

They diſcover new Signs of Treachery in Cholula. *The Army marches for that City, being reinforced with ſome Companies of* Tlaſcalans.

[T was moſt certain, that *Motezuma*, without coming to a Reſolution of taking up Arms againſt the *Spaniards*, contriv'd to deroy them; making uſe of Wiles and Stratagems rather than Force. The Anſwers of his Oracles had frighted him anew; and the Devil (who was much diſturb'd by the Neighbourhood of the Chriſtians) preſs'd him with horrible Threats to keep them at a Diſtance rom him. Sometimes he put the Prieſts and Magicians into furious Agitations, that they night incenſe the King, and make him furious; at other Times he appear'd to him, aſ-

suming the Figure of his Idol, and spoke to him in Person, the more effectually to inspire him with the Spirit of Anger: But he always left him inclin'd to Treason and Deceit, without ever proposing to him to make use of his mighty Power and Force. Whether he had no Permission to use Violence, or that it is inconsistent with his Character to give good Counsel, he took him off from Ways that were generous, and discouraged him by the same Means with which he thought to animate him. On the one Side, he had not Courage to shew himself to those prodigious People; and on the other, he thought their Army too contemptible, and too small in Number, to employ openly the Forces of his Empire against them; and judging it more for his Honour to make use of Artifice and Treachery, he directed all his Application to draw them from *Tlascala*, where he could not lay his Plots, and bring them to *Cholula*, where they were already contriv'd, and ready to be executed.

HERNAN CORTES took notice, that none came from the Governors of *Cholula* to visit him; and he communicated his Observation to the *Mexican* Ambassadors, very much wondering at the Disrespect of those Caziques who had the Charge of providing his Quarters; who could not be ignorant, that he had been visited by all the Towns of the Country round, that were under less Obligations. The Ambassadors endeavour'd to excuse the People of *Cholula*,

Cholula, but confeſſed their Inadvertency, and ſeemingly endeavour'd to have the Fault mended, by giving Notice of it; for it was not long before there came from that City four *Indians* ill-cloathed, People of very ſmall Conſideration for Ambaſſadors, conſidering the Cuſtom of thoſe Nations: A Diſreſpect which the *Tlaſcalans* urg'd, as a new Sign of their evil Intentions; upon which *Hernan Cortes* refuſed to admit them, ordering them immediately back; ſaying, (in the Preſence of the *Mexicans*) "That the Caziques of *Cholula* "underſtood Civility very little; for inſtead "of making Amends for a Neglect, they "added one Diſcourteſy to another."

THE Day for the March came; and tho' the *Spaniards* took the Morning to draw up their own Men, and thoſe of *Zempoala*, they found already in the Field an Army of *Tlaſcalans*, provided by the Senate, at the Inſtance of *Magiſcatzin*, whoſe Captains acquainted *Cortes*, "That they had receiv'd Orders from 'the Republick, to ſerve under his Com-'mand, and follow his Banner in the Jour-'ney, not only to *Cholula*, but as far as '*Mexico*, where they ſuppoſed was the great-'eſt Danger of his Undertaking." They were all drawn up in Order; and notwithſtanding they were very cloſe, (according to their Diſcipline) they took up a great Space of Ground; for they had aſſembled all the Nations which were confederate with them, and got together an extraordinary Force for the

Defence of their Friends, believing that they should be oblig'd to face the Armies of *Montezuma*. Their several Commands were distinguish'd by the Colour of their Feathers, and the Difference of their Ensigns, Eagles, Lions, and other fierce Animals, raised on high, which, as Hieroglyphicks and Devices, had a Signification, and put the Soldiers in Mind of the military Honour of their Nation. Some of our Writers enlarge so far, as to say, that the whole Gross of their Army consisted of an hundred thousand armed Men; others are more reserv'd in the Account; but, with a less Number, the Action was great in the *Tlascalans*, and is truly worthy of Consideration, both for the Thing itself, and the Manner of doing it. *Cortes* thanked them, and acknowledged this Proof of their Affections with very endearing Expressions, and was forced to take some Pains to convince them it was inconvenient he should carry so great a Number, when he went in Peace; but at last he gain'd his Point, leaving them satisfied, by permitting some Companies, with their Captains, to follow him, reserving the main Body to march to his Succour when Necessity requir'd.

Our *Bernal Diaz* writes, that he took with him two thousand *Tlascalans*; *Antonio de Herrera* says, three thousand: But *Hernan Cortes* himself confesses, in his own Relation that he took six thousand; and he was not so lavish of his own Honour, as to make the Number greater than it was, which of Course would

would have made his Reſolution the leſs admired.

But we muſt not paſs over in Silence an Accident which deſerves Conſideration, and belongs properly to this Place. There remain'd in *Tlaſcala*, when the *Spaniards* left that City, a Croſs of Wood which they had fixed, the Day of their Entrance, on a Place both high and open to the View; and *Hernan Cortes* was unwilling they ſhould deſtroy it; on the contrary, he left the Veneration of it in Charge with the Caziques: But it was neceſſary, there ſhould be a more powerful Recommendation, to make it remain with Security among the Infidels: For ſcarce were the Chriſtians out of the City, when (in ſight of all the *Indians*) a prodigious Cloud deſcended from Heaven to take Care of its Defence. It was of a pleaſing and exquiſite Whiteneſs, and deſcended through the Region of the Air, till being dilated in Form of a Pillar, it ſettled perpendicularly upon the ſame Croſs, where it continued more or leſs diſtinct (a marvelous Providence) for three or four Years, that by various Accidents, the Converſion of this Province to Chriſtianity was retarded. There proceeded from the Cloud a moderate Splendor, which infuſed Veneration, and never mixed with the Darkneſs of the Night. The *Indians* at firſt were much afraid, being ſenſible of the Prodigy, without conceiving the Myſtery: But after they had better conſider'd the Novelty, they laid aſide their Fear, without

leſſening their Admiration. They ſaid publickly, " That that holy Sign contain'd within " it ſome Deity, and that it was not in vain " that their Friends the *Spaniards* ſo much " rever'd it." They endeavour'd to imitate them, bending the Knee before it, and repairing thither in their Neceſſities, without thinking on their Idols, and frequenting their Temples much leſs than they were wont. Which Devotion (if we may call that ſo, which was indeed the Influence of an unknown Cauſe) increaſed with ſo much Fervour, both among Nobles and Plebeians, that the Prieſts and Magicians began to be jealous of their Religion, and endeavour'd ſeveral Times to pluck up the Croſs, and break it in Pieces: But they always return'd frighted, without daring to tell what had happen'd to them, leſt they ſhould loſe their Reputation with the People. Thus do Authors of Credit report the Matter; and after this Manner did Heaven take Care to diſpoſe the Minds of thoſe People, that they might afterwards, with leſs Reſiſtance, receive the Goſpel; as the Husbandman, before he ſows his Seed, prepares the Earth to facilitate the Production.

NOTHING extraordinary happened the firſt Day's March; for now that innumerable Concourſe of *Indians* that appeared on the Roads, and thoſe Shouts which paſſed for Acclamations, were no Novelty. They marched four Leagues of the five *Cholula* was then diſtant from old *Tlaſcala*; and it was thought fit to halt

halt near the Bank of a pleaſant River, to avoid entring by Night into ſo populous a Town. Soon after they had fixed their Encampment, and the neceſſary Orders were diſtributed for their Defence and Security, there arrived ſecond Ambaſſadors from the City, People of greater Rank, and better dreſſed. They brought a Preſent of ſeveral Sorts of Proviſions, and delivered their Embaſſy with much Ceremony and Reſpect. The Subſtance was, " to excuſe the Backwardneſs of their " Caziques, pretending that they could not " wait on the General at *Tlaſcala*, thoſe People " being their Enemies; to offer the Quarters " provided by their City, and withal, to ex- " preſs how much the Citizens rejoiced at " their good Fortune, in deſerving to enter- " tain ſuch Gueſts, ſo much applauded for their " noble Actions, and ſo amiable for their " Goodneſs." Theſe Words were delivered with a ſeeming Sincerity, ſuch as very well covered the Artifice. *Hernan Cortes* graciouſly admitted of the Excuſe, and the Preſent, taking Care, at the ſame Time, to appear without the leaſt Diſtruſt; and the next Day (by the Riſing of the Sun) he continued his March with the ſame Order, but not without ſome Apprehenſions, which obliged him to greater Vigilance; for the City was ſlow in coming out to receive him, and this Remark was conſiderable, among other Indications. But as the Army drew near the City, with their Arms in Readineſs for a Combat, the Caziques and Prieſts

Priests appeared, with a numerous Attendance of unarmed People. *Cortes* gave Orders to halt, to receive them, and they performed their Parts with so much seeming Reverence and Joy, that they left no room for Jealousy, at that Present, to the watchful Eye with which all their Actions and Motions were observed: But as soon as they perceived the Body of *Tlascalans* that marched in the Rear, they changed their Countenances; and among the Principal of them, there arose a disagreeable Murmur, which did again awaken the Jealousy of the *Spaniards*. *Donna Marina* was ordered to inquire into the Cause of that Novelty; and the Answer they gave by her was, "That the *Tlascalans* could not enter into "their City with their Arms, being Enemies "to their Nation, and Rebels to their King;" and they were very earnest with *Cortes* that they should halt, and immediately return to their Country, as Impediments to the Peace which was going to be published; and represented the Inconveniences, without receding, or being discompos'd; being positive that it was not to be allowed; yet confining their Resolution within the Limits of a Request.

Cortes was somewhat uneasy at this Demand, which seem'd reasonable, but was not consistent with his Security: He endeavoured to quiet them, by the Hopes of finding some Way to compose their Differences; and communicating the Matter briefly to his Captains, it was judged advisable to propose to the *Tlascalans*

Tlaſcalans to take their Quarters without the City, till ſuch Time as he could penetrate into the Deſigns of the Caziques, or ſhould proceed on his March. This Propoſition (which ſeem'd to have ſomething of Hardſhip in it) was carried by the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Chriſtoval de Olid*, who made uſe both of Perſuaſion and Authority, as delivering an Order, yet engaging Obedience to it, by ſhewing its Reaſonableneſs. But they were ſo very complying, that they cut him ſhort, ſaying, "They "did not come to diſpute, but obey; and that "they would preſently make their Barracks "without the Town, in a Place whence they "might quickly come to the Defence of their "Friends, ſeeing they reſolved to adventure "contrary to all Reaſon, confiding in Traytors." The People of *Cholula* were immediately acquainted with this, which they readily agreed to, both Nations remaining not only ſatisfied, but with ſome Vanity ariſing from their very Oppoſition; the one, becauſe they perſuaded themſelves they had got the better, by leaving their Enemies diſcontented, and ill accommodated; the other, becauſe they looked upon the Refuſal to admit them within the City as a manifeſt Acknowledgment that they ſtood in fear of them. Thus does the Imagination of Men vary the Nature and Appearance of Things, which are generally valued as they are taken, and are taken as we would have them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Spaniards *make their Entry into* Cholula; *where the People endeavour to deceive them by their outward good Entertainment. Their Treaſon is diſcover'd; and the* Spaniards *make a Diſpoſition to chaſtiſe them.*

THE Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Cholula* was like to that of *Tlaſcala:* A Concourſe of innumerable People, which they paſs'd through with Difficulty; tumultuous Acclamations; Women that flung and preſented Noſegays of Flowers; Caziques and Prieſts, with repeated Reverences and Perfumings; Variety of Inſtruments, which made more Noiſe than Muſick, diſpers'd about the Streets; and an univerſal Joy ſo well counterfeited, that the *Spaniards*, who came thither full of Jealouſy, began to think it ſincere.

THE City was ſo beautiful to behold, that it was compar'd to our *Valladolid*; ſituate in a Plain, on all Sides open, and very delightful. They ſay it contain'd within the Walls twenty thouſand Inhabitants, and that the Number was greater of thoſe who liv'd in the Suburbs. 'Twas generally frequented by many Strangers; partly as a Sanctuary of their Gods, and partly as the great *Emporium* of Merchandize. The Streets were wide, and well laid out; the Buildings greater, and of better Archi-

Architecture than thoſe of *Tlaſcala*; appearing very ſumptuous, with the Towers, which ſhew'd the Multitude of their Temples. The Inhabitants were more cunning than warlike, Merchants and Mechanicks, abundance of People, and but few of Diſtinction.

The Quarters provided were three or four large Houſes contiguous to each other, which contain'd the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; where they could both fortify themſelves, as the Occaſion requir'd; and as they were accuſtom'd to do. The *Tlaſcalans* choſe a Place for their Quarters a little diſtant from the Town, ſecuring it with ſome Works; they form'd their Guards, and plac'd their Centinels, being now improv'd in military Affairs by the Imitation of their Friends. The firſt three or four Days were all quiet, and good Uſage. The Caziques were punctual in paying their Reſpects to *Cortes*, and endeavour'd to be acquainted with his Captains. Proviſions were given liberally, and in abundance; all outward Appearances were favourable, inſomuch that the *Spaniards* began to think that what they had heard was falſe, and that they had upon too ſlight Foundations believ'd the former Rumours; ſo readily diſpos'd is the Mind always to make itſelf eaſy. But it was not long before the Truth appear'd; nor could thoſe People continue in their Artifice till they had compaſſed what they intended: Deceitful both by Nature and Cuſtom, but not ſo watch-

ful

ful and cunning as their Dissimulation and Malice requir'd.

Provisions, by little and little, grew scarce, the Entertainments and Attendance of the Caziques ceas'd at once. *Motezuma*'s Ambassadors held private Conferences with the Priests, and the People discover'd a kind of Scorn and Falseness in their Countenances. All Things gave Signs of some Novelty, and awaken'd the ill-lull'd Jealousy of the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* was contriving some Means to be inform'd of the Intentions of those People; and at the same Time the Truth discover'd itself; the Providence of God, so often known by Experience in this Conquest, anticipating all the Contrivances of Men.

An antient *Indian* Woman of Note, who had great Relations in *Cholula*, had contracted a Friendship with *Donna Marina:* She often visited her with Familiarity; and *Donna Marina* very well deserv'd it from her, for her natural Courtesy and Discretion. She came that Day earlier than usual, and seem'd to be full of Thought and Trouble. She drew her aside privately from the *Spaniards*, and charging her with Secrecy, even by the manner of her Delivery, began to bemoan "her Capti-"vity, and to persuade her to forsake those "abominable Strangers, and come to her "House, where she offer'd her Entertainment "and Protection from the *Spaniards*." *Donna Marina*, who was ingenious enough, compar'd this Offer with the other Signs, and pretending

tending that ſhe was under Oppreſſion, and came againſt her Will with thoſe People, gave readily into the Eſcape, and accepted of the Entertainment offer'd with ſo many grateful Acknowledgments, that the *Indian*, believeing her ſincere, diſcover'd her whole Heart; telling her, " It was abſolutely neceſſary ſhe " ſhould go immediately, for that the Time " appointed among their People for the De- " ſtruction of the *Spaniards* drew near; and " that 'twas unreaſonable ſo valuable a Wo- " man ſhould periſh with them: That *Mote-* " *zuma* had provided twenty thouſand Men " at a ſmall Diſtance, to make ſure of the De- " ſign: That ſix thouſand choſen Men of that " Number had already enter'd the City in " ſmall Parcels: That Abundance of Arms " had been diſtributed among the People, " Quantities of Stones carried up to the Tops " of the Houſes, and deep Trenches cut a- " croſs the Streets, with ſharp Stakes fix'd in " the Bottom, being cover'd at Top with " Earth on ſlight Supporters, that the Horſes " might fall in, and be wounded: That *Mo-* " *tezuma* deſign'd to make an End of all the " *Spaniards*; but had commanded ſome of " them to be brought alive, to ſatisfy his Curi- " oſity, and his Regard for his Gods: And " that he had preſented the City with a Drum " made of Gold, curiouſly hollow'd, to excite " their Minds with this military Favour." In ſhort, *Donna Marina* (expreſſing how much ſhe rejoiced at the good Diſpoſition of their Under-

Undertaking, and asking some Questions, as one that was pleased with what she enquir'd after) found herself fully inform'd of the whole Conspiracy. She pretended she would immediately go with her; and under Colour of getting together her Jewels, with some other valuable Things, she found the Means of leaving her without Suspicion, and immediately gave an Account to *Cortes*. He order'd the *Indian* to be seiz'd; who, after a few Threats, between Confusion and Conviction, discover'd the whole.

Soon after came some *Tlascalan* Soldiers, dress'd like Peasants, and told *Cortes* from their Commanders, "That he should take "care of himself, for that from their Quar- "ters they had seen the People of *Cholula* "carry their Women and Goods to the neigh- "bouring Villages:" A sure Sign they were hatching some Treason. He understood likewise that they had celebrated that Morning, in the great Temple of their City, a Sacrifice of ten Children of both Sexes; a Ceremony they used when they design'd to undertake any military Action. At the same time arriv'd two or three *Zempoalans*, who going about the City, by Accident had discover'd the Deceit of their Trenches, and had seen in the Streets, on the Sides, some Works and Palisades, which they had made to guide the Horses to the Precipices.

There was no occasion for any greater Confirmation of the Intentions of these People:

But

But *Hernan Cortes* was deſirous to make the Matter yet clearer, and to juſtify his Proceedings beyond Objection, by the Teſtimony of ſome unexceptionable Witneſſes of their own Nation, who ſhould confeſs the Crime. To which End he ordered the Chief Prieſt to be called, on whom the reſt depended, and two or three more of the ſame Profeſſion; Men who were of great Authority with the Caziques, and greater with the People. He examined them ſeparately, not as one who doubted their Intention, but complaining of their Treaſon; and acquainting them with all the Circumſtances he knew, conceal'd the Manner how he came by his Information, in order to make them admire, and to puzzle their Conceptions with the Myſteriouſneſs of his Knowledge. They believed they were talking to a Deity, that penetrated the Secrets of Mens Hearts, and durſt not carry on the Deceit, but immediately confeſſed the Treaſon with all the Circumſtances; blaming *Motezuma*, by whoſe Order every Thing was diſpoſed and provided. *Cortes* ordered them to be ſecretly impriſon'd, to avoid raiſing any Diſturbance in the City. He likewiſe order'd Care to be taken of *Motezuma*'s Ambaſſadors, without ſuffering them to go out, or have any Communication with the People of the Country; and calling his Captains together, he acquainted them with the whole Affair, and how much it concern'd them not to let this Treachery go unpuniſh'd; making the Undertaking appear eaſy, and

weighing the Consequences with so much Energy and Resolution, that they all resolv'd to obey, leaving the Direction and Success to his Prudence.

This being done, he sent for the Caziques who govern'd the City, and publish'd his March for the next Day; not that he design'd it, or that it was possible; but only to straighten them in Time for what they were about to do. He demanded Provisions for the March, *Indians* of Burden for his Baggage, and two thousand Men armed to accompany him, as the *Zempoalans* and *Tlascalans* had done. They offer'd the Provisions and *Tamenes* faintly, but the armed Men which he demanded, with greater Readiness; in which their Designs and that of *Cortes* ran counter; for *Cortes* desir'd them, in order to disunite their Forces, and to have in his Power a Part of the Traitors who were to be chastiz'd; and the Caziques offer'd them, that they might introduce among the Troops of *Cortes* those conceal'd Enemies, and make use of them when Occasion offer'd. Both these Stratagems were founded upon Martial Reason, if those Kinds of Deceit may be call'd Reason, which War has made lawful, and Example has dignify'd.

Notice was given to the *Tlascalans* of all that happen'd, with Orders to be in a Readiness; and that at the first Dawning of the Day they should draw near the City, as if they were moving to follow the March; and that at the first Discharge of the Fire-Arms, they should

ſhould advance with all Speed into the City to join the Army, bringing with them all the People they found armed. Care was alſo taken, that the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* ſhould have their Arms in Readineſs, and be acquainted with the Buſineſs they were to be employ'd in. As ſoon as it was Night, (the Quarters being ſecured by Guards, and ſuch Centinels as the preſent Occaſion requir'd) *Cortes* ſent for *Motezuma*'s Ambaſſadors, and with Shew of great Intimacy, as one that imparted to them what they did not know, told them, " That he had " diſcover'd, and had Proofs of a very great " Conſpiracy, form'd againſt him by the Caziques and Citizens of *Cholula:* He acquainted them with what Meaſures they had taken againſt his Perſon and Army: He laid before them how much they had been wanting to the Laws of Hoſpitality, the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, and the Word of their Prince." And added, " That he had not only come to the Knowledge of this, by his own Penetration and Vigilance; but that the principal Conſpirators had likewiſe confeſſed it, and excuſed their Treachery by a greater Crime; for they had the Boldneſs to ſay they had receiv'd Orders and Aſſiſtance from *Motezuma*, to deſtroy his Army after ſo infamous a Manner; which was not likely, nor could he entertain ſo mean a Thought of ſo great a Prince; for which Reaſon he had reſolv'd to take Satisfaction for the Offence with the utmoſt

" Rigour of his Arms: That he communicated " this to them, that they might be appriz'd of " his Reasons, and understand that he was not " so much provoked by the Crime itself, com- " mitted by those seditious People, as by the " Circumstance of authorizing their Treason " with the Name of the King."

The Ambassadors pretended, as well as they could, that they knew nothing of the Conspiracy, and endeavour'd to save the Credit of their Prince, following the Path which *Cortes* had purposely chalk'd them out to lessen the Force of his Complaint. It was not convenient at that Time to seem to distrust *Motezuma*, and make a powerful Prince, who was resolv'd to dissemble, an open Enemy: Upon which Consideration he resolv'd to overthrow his Designs, without giving him Reason to believe that he knew them; contenting himself with punishing his Actions in the Persons of those he employ'd, and with avoiding the Blow, without any regard to the Arm that guided it. *Cortes* thought it a Matter of small Difficulty to break that Body of Men provided to support the Seditious, as one accustom'd to greater Deeds with a smaller Force; and he was so far from doubting the Success, that he esteem'd it a Happiness (or, at least, he said so among his own People) to find this Opportunity of raising the Reputation of his Arms among the *Mexicans*; and, in Truth, he was not displeased to find *Motezuma* so much at a Loss in Stratagems; believing that he would

scarce

ſcarce raiſe his Thoughts to very great Matters, who durſt not attack him openly, and diſcover'd in his very Deceits the Weakneſs of his Reſolution.

CHAP. VII.

Cortes *chaſtiſes the Traytors of* Cholula; *reduces and pacifies the City; and eſtabliſhes a Friendſhip betwixt the* Cholulans *and* Tlaſcalans.

AS ſoon as it was Day, came the *Indians* of Burden that had been demanded, and ſome Proviſions; but the former fewer in Number, and the other leſs in Quantity, than was expected. Afterwards came the armed *Indians*, in broken Troops, who, under Pretence of accompanying the *Spaniards* in the March, had their Counter-Orders to fall upon the Rear, when Occaſion requir'd; of whoſe Numbers the Caziques had been no Niggards, but gave another Signal of their evil Intention, by ſending more than were deſired. *Hernan Cortes* diſtributed them into the ſeveral Courts of the Quarters, where he very artfully ſecured them; telling them that he was obliged to ſeparate them, in order to form his Squadrons as he was accuſtomed. He preſently put his Men in Order, well inſtructed in what they were to do; and mounting his Horſe, with

those that were to follow him in the Action, caused the Caziques to be called, to justify to them his Resolutions; of whom some came, and others excused themselves. He told them with a loud Voice, (and *Donna Marina* explain'd it with the same Violence) "That "now their Conspiracy was discover'd, and "their Punishment resolv'd on; by the Rigour "of which, they should know how much it "had imported them to maintain that Peace "which they intended so treacherously to "break." Scarce had he begun this Menace, when they retir'd to join their own Forces, flying with more than ordinary Diligence, and beginning the War with some Injuries and Threats, which were heard at a good Distance. Then *Hernan Cortes* commanded his Infantry to fall upon those *Indians* he kept divided in the Squares; and tho' they were all provided with Arms to execute their Treachery, and endeavoured to join, in order to defend themselves, they were all destroy'd with small Difficulty, none escaping with Life, but such as could hide, or fling themselves from the Walls making use of their Agility and Lances to leap to the other Side.

Having secur'd all at his Back with the Slaughter of these concealed Enemies, he gave the Signal for the *Tlascalans* to move; and the Army advanced leisurely to the principal Street leaving in the Quarters such a Guard as was necessary. He detached some *Zempoalans* before to discover the Trenches, that the Horse might

might not be endanger'd. The *Cholulans* at the ſame Time were not idle; for finding themſelves now engaged in open War, they call'd in the reſt of the *Mexicans*, and joining in a great Square, where they had three or four Temples, they placed a Part of their People on the Top of their Towers, and in the Porches; the reſt they divided into ſeveral Bodies, to engage the *Spaniards*. But at the ſame Time that *Cortes*'s Troops enter'd the Square, and the Charge was given on both Sides, the Body of *Tlaſcalans* clos'd with the Enemies Rear; which unexpected Accident put them in ſo much Dread and Diſorder, that they could not fly, and knew not how to defend themſelves; ſo that the *Spaniards* were rather encumber'd than oppos'd by their Enemies, who ran from one Danger to another with little or no Choice; People void of Counſel, who only advanc'd in Hopes to eſcape, and very often preſented their Breaſts to the Points of their Enemies Weapons, without remembring to make the leaſt Uſe of their Hands. Many were killed in this ſort of Engagement; but the greateſt Part eſcaped to the Temples, on whoſe Steps and Terraces the *Spaniards* diſcover'd a Multitude of armed Men, but ſuch as rather filled than defended the Eminences of thoſe great Buildings. The *Mexicans* took upon them the Defence of thoſe Places, but found themſelves ſo encumber'd and oppreſs'd by the Crowd of the Inhabitants, that they could hardly turn themſelves,

ſelves, and had ſcarce Room to ſhoot their Arrows. *Cortes* approached the greateſt of the Temples with his Troops, and commanded his Interpreters, with a loud Voice, to offer free Paſſage to all ſuch as would voluntarily come down and ſurrender; which was done the ſecond and third Time; and then perceiving that no one moved, he order'd the Towers of the Temple to be fired, which, 'tis agreed, was executed, and that a great many periſh'd in the Fire and Ruins. It does not appear an eaſy Matter to have fired thoſe high Buildings, without firſt opening the Paſſage of the Stairs, unleſs *Cortes* made uſe of the flaming Arrows, with which the *Indians* at a great Diſtance threw their artificial Fires; but nothing was ſufficient to diſlodge the Enemy, till the Attack was ſhorten'd by making way with the Artillery; and it was worthy of Remark, that only one, out of ſo many as were deſtroy'd in this Temple, ſurrender'd voluntarily to the Mercy of the *Spaniards:* A notable Proof of their Obſtinacy.

The ſame Method was uſed at the other Temples, and afterwards they rang'd thro' the whole City, which was left entirely diſpeopled, and War ceaſed for want of Enemies. The *Tlaſcalans* were diſorderly to Exceſs in the Pillage, and it coſt ſome Difficulty to make them retire. They made a great many Priſoners, loaded themſelves with Cloaths, and Merchandizes of Value; and particularly they fell upon the Magazines of Salt, of which they immediately

immediately ſent ſome Loads to their City, conſidering the Neceſſities of their Country in the very midſt of their Plunder. Above ſix thouſand Men, Natives and *Mexicans*, were left dead in the Streets, Temples, and ſtrong Houſes. An Action well-diſpos'd, and perform'd without any Loſs on our Side; and, in Truth, it was rather a Chaſtiſement than a Victory.

HERNAN CORTES retired immediately to his Quarters with the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; and, aſſigning Quarters for the *Tlaſcalans* within the City, order'd the Priſoners of both Nations to be ſet at Liberty; which were indeed the principal People, whom the *Tlaſcalans* had preſerved as their moſt valuable Prize. *Cortes* firſt order'd them to be brought into his Preſence, and then commanding that the Prieſts ſhould come forth from their Confinements, with the *Indian* Woman who diſcover'd their Deſigns, and the Ambaſſadors of *Motezuma*; he made them a ſhort Diſcourſe, complaining, "That the People of that City "had obliged him to ſo ſevere a Puniſhment;" and after repreſenting to them the Crime, and aſſuring all, that he had laid aſide his Diſpleaſure, and ſatisfy'd his juſt Revenge, he commanded a general Pardon to be publiſh'd, without any Exception; and made it his Requeſt to the Caziques, That they would endeavour to repeople the City, by calling back the Fugitives, and encouraging thoſe to come forth who were conceal'd.

THE

The *Indians* could scarce believe they were at Liberty, knowing with what Rigour they used to treat their own Prisoners; but kissing the Earth in Token of their great Acknowledgment, they offer'd, with the most humble Submission, to execute the Orders given them. The Ambassadors endeavour'd to conceal their Confusion, applauding the Success of that Day; and *Hernan Cortes* congratulated them on the same, suffering Dissimulation to take Place for the present, that he might keep them free from Suspicion, and oblige *Motezuma*, by his outward Shew, to interest himself in the Chastisement of his own Artifice.

The City was in a little Time repeopled; for this Demonstration of setting at Liberty the Caziques and Priests so soon, and the great Praises they gave to the Clemency of the *Spaniards* after so just a Provocation, was sufficient Assurance to the People who were scatter'd among the neighbouring Villages. The Citizens return'd immediately to their Houses with their Families, open'd their Shops, shewed their Wares, and the Tumult was at once converted into Obedience and Security: An Action which did not so much shew the natural Facility with which those *Indians* ran from one Extreme to another, as the great Opinion they had of the *Spaniards*; for they found in the very Justification of their Punishment sufficient Reason to be secure, on their Amendment.

The Day after the Action, *Xicotencal* arriv'd with an Army of twenty thousand Men, which, upon

upon the firſt Notice from their People, the Republick ſent to the Succour of the *Spaniards*. They had kept their Forces on Foot, doubting the Succeſs; and upon all Occaſions the *Spaniards* experienced the ready Aſſiſtance of that Nation. They halted without the City, where *Hernan Cortes* viſited and entertained them, with the greateſt Acknowledgments for their Care and Zeal to ſerve him; but at the ſame Time prevail'd on them to return, telling *Xicotencal*, and his Captains, "That now their "Aſſiſtance was not neceſſary for the Reduction "of the City; and that having reſolv'd ſhortly "to march for *Mexico*, it was not convenient "to awaken the Power of *Motezuma*, and "provoke him to War, by bringing into his "Dominions ſo numerous a Body of *Tlaſcalans*, declared Enemies of the *Mexicans*." They made no Objections to theſe Reaſons; on the contrary, they ingenuouſly confeſſed and acknowledged that they were juſt, offering to have Troops in Readineſs, and to come to his Aſſiſtance whenſoever Occaſion requir'd.

CORTES endeavour'd, before they return'd, to reconcile the two Nations of *Tlaſcala* and *Cholula*. He ſet on foot a Treaty, removed the Difficulties, and, as his Authority was now well confirm'd with both Parties, he effected it in a few Days; and the Act of Confederacy and Alliance between the two Cities and their Diſtricts, was celebrated with the Aſſiſtance of their Magiſtrates, and the accuſtomed Solemnities and Ceremonies. This was a wiſe Mediation;

diation; to which he was obliged, for the Sake of the Conveniency of opening a Way for the *Tlaſcalans*, to ſupply him the more eaſily with ſuch Succours as he ſhould have Occaſion for, and likewiſe not to leave this Impediment to his Retreat, in caſe the Succeſs ſhould not be anſwerable to his Hopes.

THUS happen'd the Chaſtiſement of *Cholula*, ſo much talked of in the Books of Strangers, and in one of our own Authors, who by this Means obtain'd the miſerable Applauſe of ſeeing himſelf quoted againſt his Country. They place this Action among the barbarous Cruelties related of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, and enlarge very much upon it, to diſcredit and reflect on the Conqueſt. They would attribute all the Glory of our Arms to a covetous Impulſe and Thirſt of Gold, without remembring that we open'd the Way to Religion, with the concurrent ſpecial Aſſiſtance of the Arm of God throughout the whole Undertaking. They very much lament the *Indians*, treating them as a defenceleſs and ſimple People, that their Sufferings might appear the greater, and by a wicked Compaſſion ſhew their Hatred and Envy. The Caſe of *Cholula* needs no other Defence than the bare Narration: which ſufficiently ſhews the Malice of thoſe Barbarians, how well they knew to make uſe both of Force and Fraud, and with how much Juſtice their Treachery was puniſh'd. And from hence may be gather'd, with how much Paſſion and Partiality other Caſes are related, with the

ſame

ſame Charge of horrible Inhumanity. We are not ignorant, that in ſome Parts of the *Indies*, Actions have been ſeen worthy Reprehenſion, indeed contrary both to Piety and Reaſon; but in what juſt and holy Undertaking, has it not been neceſſary to paſs by ſome Inconveniencies? From what well-diſciplin'd Army could thoſe Abuſes and Diſorders, which the World calls military Liberty, be intirely baniſh'd? And what Proportion do theſe leſſer Inconveniencies bear with the principal Point of the Conqueſt? Thoſe who are envious of the *Spaniſh* Glory, muſt confeſs, that from this Beginning reſulted, and with theſe Inſtruments was perfected, the Converſion of this Body of *Gentiles*, and ſo great a Part of the World, as at this Day, reſtored to their Creator. But to think that this Conqueſt of the *Indies* ſhould not be agreeable to God, and his moſt high Decree, for this or that Crime of the Conquerors, is to confound the Subſtance with Accidents; ſince even in the ineffable Work of our Redemption, there is preſuppoſed (as neceſſary for univerſal Salvation) the Malice of thoſe permitted Sinners, who were the Inſtruments of working the greateſt Remedy with the greateſt Iniquity. The Ends of God may be known in ſome of his Diſpoſitions, which carry along with them the Signals of his Providence; but the Proportion and Suitableneſs of the Means by which they are purſued, is a Point reſerv'd to his eternal Wiſdom, and ſo conceal'd from human Knowledge, that theſe partial

partial Judges ought to be heard with Contempt, whose too refined Reasonings wou'd pass on the World for Strength of Understanding, when, in Truth, they are no more than a daring Ignorance.

CHAP. VIII.

The Spaniards *march from* Cholùla; *they meet with new Difficulties on the Mountain of* Chalco: Motezuma *endeavours to stop them by Means of his Magicians.*

THE Day prefix'd for the March was now drawing near, when some *Zempoalans* who serv'd in the Army (whether they fear'd the Danger of marching to the Court of *Motezuma*, or that the Love of their Country weighed more with them than Reputation) desired Leave to return Home; which *Cortes* granted without Difficulty; thanking them for the good Services they had done him: And by this Opportunity he sent some Presents to the Cazique of *Zempoala*; recommending again to his Care, those *Spaniards* he had left in his District, upon the Confidence repos'd in his Friendship and Alliance. He wrote at the same time to *Juan de Escalante* with particular Earnestness, to send him some Meal, and Wine for the Mass, which began to grow scarce, and the Want of which would be a very great Discomfort

comfort both to him, and to all his Troops. He gave him a ſhort Account of his Progreſs, that he might thereby encourage him to ſtrengthen the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*, by additional Fortifications; not ſo much on account of the *Indians*, as of what might be ſuſpected from *Diego Velaſquez*, whoſe reſtleſs Spirit added to the General's Anxiety.

At this Time arrived new Embaſſadors from *Motezuma*, who having been informed of what had paſs'd at *Cholula*, was deſirous to take away all Suſpicion from the *Spaniards* of his being concern'd in that Affair: Accordingly, theſe Embaſſadors returned Thanks to *Cortes* for chaſtizing that Sedition; vainly enlarging upon the Indignation of their King, and branding thoſe with the Name of Traitors, who had merited it no otherwiſe than by Obedience to his Commands. This Meſſage was accompanied with a Preſent of equal Value and Pomp; and by what happened afterwards, it appear'd, that the Deſign of it was to make *Cortes* think himſelf ſecure, that he might be the leſs circumſpect in his March, and fall into another Ambuſh, prepared for him.

In fine, after fourteen Days Stay, during which Time they were employ'd in the Manner we have related, they began their March; and the firſt Night the Army quartered in a Village in the Juriſdiction of *Guajozingo*, to which the Chiefs of that Government, and of other neighbouring Towns, immediately repaired

paired with a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, and some Presents of small Value, but enough to shew the Affection with which they expected the *Spaniards*. Among these People *Cortes* found the same Complaints of *Motezuma* as in Provinces more remote; nor was he sorry to see those Humours extend so near the Heart, persuading himself, that a Prince could nor be very powerful with so many Marks of a Tyrant, who by losing the Love of his Vassals, is destitute of the surest Defence of a King.

The next day they prosecuted their March over a very craggy Mountain, which joined to the *Volcano*. *Cortes* marched with Caution, having been advised by one of the Caziques of *Guajozingo* at parting, not to confide in the *Mexicans*, who had placed a great Ambuscade on the other Side of the Mountain, and stopped up the Royal Road, which goes down from the Top to the Province of *Chalco*, with great Stones and Trees; and had open'd and smooth'd at the Beginning another more impractible Passage, having farther on in the Descent augmented the natural Precipices, with some they had made, that the Army by degrees might be entangled in Difficulties, and be charged on a sudden, when their Horses could not turn themselves, nor the Foot stand firm. They had reach'd the Top of the Mountain, (not without Fatigue, for it snowed and blew hard) when in the very highest Part, at a little Distance from each other, they found the two Roads

Roads with the Marks that had been related, one ſtopt up, and covered; the other inviting to the View, and newly made.

ALTHOUGH *Hernan Cortes* was highly incenſed to find the Intelligence of this Piece of Treachery prove true, he was ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that without ſhewing Reſentment, or making any Diſturbance, he asked *Motezuma*'s Ambaſſadors, who marched near his Perſon, what thoſe two Roads meant? They anſwered, *That the beſt was levelled for him to march: The other ſtopt up, as more craggy and difficult.* *Cortes* replied, without changeing either Voice or Countenance, *You are but little acquainted*, ſaid he, *with thoſe of my Nation; they will march in this Road that you have ſtopt up, for no other Reaſon, than its Difficulty: For the* Spaniards, *whenſoever they have it in their Choice, incline to that which is the leaſt eaſy.* Then, without making any Stop, he commanded his *Indian* Friends to march foremoſt, and clear the Way, by removing to each Side thoſe Obſtacles to his Paſſage, the Artifice whereof they had diſcover'd to him: This was preſently put in Execution, to the great Surprize of the Ambaſſadors; who not ſuſpecting the Stratagem of their Prince to be diſcovered, believed it a Piece of Divination, and found Matter both of Admiration and Fear in the Gallantry of his Reſolution. *Cortes* made this artful Uſe of the Notice he had received, to avoid the Danger, without loſing his Reputation:

Nor did he care to have them think that he diſtruſted *Motezuma*; but dextrouſly diſappointed his Stratagem, without ſeeming to know it.

So ſoon as the *Indians* in Ambuſcade perceived the *Spaniards* to march wide, and follow the Royal Road, they took it for granted that they were diſcovered, and began to retire in as much Conſternation and Diſorder, as if they had been overcome in Battle: So that our Army deſcended into the Plain, without Oppoſition: They quartered that Night in ſome Houſes on the Skirts of the Mountain, built for the Entertainment of *Mexican* Merchants, who frequented the Fairs of *Cholula*; there they ſecured themſelves with doubled Guards, and ſuch other Precautions as were neceſſary in a Country where they marched in ſo little Security.

MOTEZUMA, in the mean Time, diſpirited by the Diſappointments he had met with, loſt his Reſolution, and durſt not make uſe of Force. This want of Courage made him devout: he was more converſant with his Gods, frequented their Temples, and redoubled his Sacrifices, till he had ſtain'd all their Altars with human Blood: His Cruelty increaſed with his Afflictions; and the contradictory Anſwers of his Idols added to his Confuſion, and made him entirely diſconſolate: for thoſe unclean Spirits that ſpoke in them diſagreed in their Advice. Some bad him open the Gates of the City to the *Spaniards*, that

he

he might ſecure them all for Sacrifice, without their being able either to defend themſelves or to eſcape: Others adviſed, that he ſhould keep them at a Diſtance, and without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen, endeavour to deſtroy them; and to this Opinion he moſt inclined: For he was extremely offended at their Preſumption in deſiring to enter his Court againſt his Will: He regarded this Obſtinacy of theirs, in Contradiction to his Orders, as an Invaſion of his Power, diſguiſing his Pride under a pretended Concern for the Preſervation of his Authority. But when he underſtood, that the *Spaniards* were already arrived in the Province of *Calco*, and that his laſt Ambuſh in the Mountain had no manner of Effect, he grew uneaſie, and impatient to the laſt Degree, not knowing what Meaſures to take: And his Counſellors left him in the ſame Uncertainty as his Oracles. At laſt he ſummoned all his Magicians and Sorcerers, whoſe Profeſſion was much eſteem'd in that Country, and of whom many had Communication with the Devil; the want of Knowledge of the true God giving a Reputation of Wiſe to thoſe Men who were the moſt deceived. He acquainted them what Occaſion he had for all their Skill, to check the Progreſs of theſe Strangers, of whoſe Deſigns he was ſo juſtly jealous. He commanded them to take the Field, and put the *Spaniards* to flight, or ſtupify them by the Force of their Enchantments, and work ſome extraordinary Effect, as they had been accuſtomed to do on

Occasions less important: If they accomplish'd this, he promised them great Rewards; and threaten'd them with Death, if they returned into his Presence without Success.

This Order was put in Execution with so much Zeal, that several numerous Companies of Necromancers were assembled and set out against the *Spaniards*, confiding in the Force of their Conjurations, and the Power which they believed they had over all Nature. Father *Joseph de Acosta*, and other creditable Authors report, That when they came to the Road of *Chalco*, by which the Army was marching, and there began their Invocations, and drew Circles, the Devil appear'd to them, in the Form of one of their Idols, called *Telcatlepuca*, a God malignant and terrible, from whom they suppos'd Plagues, Sterility, and other Chastisements of Heaven to proceed. He came like one despighted and enraged; and with his lowring angry Look, outdid the very Fierceness expres's'd in the Countenance of the Idol. His Garments were girt with a Rope of Wicker, which bound his Breast in different Rounds, either for the better Expression of his Anguish, or to show, that he was dragg'd by an invisible Hand. They prostrated themselves to adore him; and he, without shewing the least Regard to their Humiliations, imitated the Voice as well as he had done the Figure of the Idol; and spoke to them after this Manner: *Unhappy* Mexicans, *the Time is come wherein your Conjurations have lost their Force,*

Force, and our League is entirely diſſolved. Tell Motezuma, *that for his Tyranny and Cruelty, Heaven hath decreed his Ruin: And that you may after a more lively Manner repreſent to him the Deſolation of his Empire, turn your Eyes upon that miſerable City, already forſaken by your Gods.* Having ſaid this, he diſappeared; and they beheld the whole City in a dreadful Flame, which leſſening by Degrees, at length vaniſh'd, and left the Buildings untouched. The Magicians returned to *Motezuma* with this Account, which they hoped would be ſufficient to acquit them, notwithſtanding their Apprehenſions of his Cruelty. But he was ſo aſtoniſhed with the Menaces of this malignant and calamitous God, that he remained ſpeechleſs for a while, like a Man in deep Thought; and ſummoning all his Spirits to his Support, and from that Inſtant laying aſide his native Fierceneſs, he caſt his Eyes on the Magicians, and the reſt who were preſent: *What can we do,* ſaid he, *if our Gods forſake us? Let the Strangers come, and the Heavens fall upon us: To abſcond, or turn our Backs upon Misfortune, would be diſhonourable.* (And a little after he added) *I only lament the old Men, Women, and Children, who cannot defend themſelves.* And in making this Reflection it was with Difficulty that he with-held his Tears. It cannot be denied, but that there was ſomething very noble in his Reſolution to meet that Calamity which he now regarded as in-

evitable; nor was it a Tenderneſs unbecoming a Royal Mind, which he expreſs'd in reflecting on the Oppreſſion of his Vaſſals: Such Sentiments are worthy of a King, among whoſe Virtues Humanity and Compaſſion are no leſs heroical than Fortitude.

They began from this Moment to think of the Entertainment which was to be given the *Spaniards*, and of the Solemnity and Preparations for their Reception: And from thence took Occaſion to diſcourſe on the great Actions they had done, and the Prodigies with which Heaven had prepared their Way, the Marks they bore of thoſe Oriental Men, promiſed to their Anceſtors, and the Deſpondency of their own Gods, who ſeemed to confeſs themſelves vanquiſh'd, and to abandon the Dominion of theſe Countries, as Divinities of an inferior Hierarchy. And there was ſufficient need of all this Prepoſſeſſion, to make it poſſible for ſuch a Handful of Men to penetrate (againſt ſuch obſtinate Reſiſtance) to the very Court of a Prince ſo potent and abſolute; whoſe Vaſſals were bred up in a Dread of him, and reverenced him even to Adoration.

CHAP.

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NORTE.
Mitelongo.
Tescatepec.
Capotlan.
Cittatepec.
Hueuexoca.
Petits Lacs.
Xilbango.
Teuntep.
Campoala.
Teietitlan.
Gueititlan.
Marsh.
Talguaj.
Ottomba.
Huetihuas.
Tenayuca.
Laltocan.
Tepeca.
Aculma.
Chiconautla.
Escapusalco.
Thuhlistlan.
Ecatepec.
Tepetastac.
Marsh Ground
Tacuba.
Cimalp.
MEXICO.
Quitlavaca.
Tacaipatan.
Marsh.
The Lake of Salt Water.
Capistlan.
Ayatusco.
Ximaloaca.
Istapalapa.
Guastepec.
Xicalopa.
Cuioacam.
Lake of fresh Water.
Histaluca.
Oyilabu.
Pichquique.
Vlacus.
Culiacau.
Quitlauaca.
Ayonago.
Curtaleco.
Timanaleo.
Amecamaca.
Tenago.
OCCIDENTE.
ORIENTE.
THE Lake of Mexico and Parts Adjacent

NORTE.
Pag 359. 3d Book
Xicalopa.
Istapalapa
Guastepec.
Cuioacam.
Magisatzingo.
Lake of fresh Water.
Histaluca.
Oyilabus
Pichquique.
Tlacus.
Culiacau.
Suchimilco.
Qultiauaca.
Ayonago.
Curtaleco.
Timanaleo
THE
Lake of Mexico
and
Parts Adjacent
Amecamaca.

CHAP. IX.

Motezuma *ſends his Nephew the Lord of* Tezeuco *to viſit* Cortes *in his Quarters: He continues his March, and halts at* Quitlavaca, *within the Lake of* Mexico.

FROM the Houſes where the Army quarter'd on the other Side of the Mountain, they paſſed the Day following to a ſmall Village in the Juriſdiction of *Chalco*, ſituate on the Royal Road, ſomewhat more than two Leagues from their former Encampment; where the principal Cazique of the Province, and others of the Neighbourhood, immediately arriv'd: They brought Preſents, with ſome Proviſions: *Cortes* entertain'd them with great Humanity, and made them Preſents in Return for theirs: But he quickly diſcover'd by their Converſation, that they were very circumſpect, and cautious of ſpeaking before the *Mexican* Ambaſſadors: For they ſtopped out of Seaſon, and ſeemed embaraſſed; and even in what they ſaid, explain'd what they would conceal. *Hernan Cortes* took them aſide, and, by the Help of his Interpreters, diſcover'd all the Venom of their Hearts. They complain'd immoderately of the Cruelties and Tyrannies of *Motezuma:* They repreſented the intolerable Load of his Impoſts, which extended even to their Perſons; for he obliged

them to labour without Wages, in his Gardens, and other Works of Vanity: They added with Tears, *That they were forced to give up their Women as a Tribute to his Lust, and that of his Ministers, who chose and rejected them at Pleasure; nor were the Mother's Arms a Security to her Daughter, or the Bed of a Husband any Protection to his Wife.* They represented this to *Cortes*, as to the Person who was to apply a Remedy; beholding him as a Deity descended from Heaven, to exercise Jurisdiction over Tyrants. He hearken'd to them with Compassion, and endeavour'd to support them with the Hopes of Relief; permitting the Opinion they had entertain'd of him to pass at that Time without undeceiving their Ignorance. He did not willingly suffer his Politics to carry him beyond the Bounds of Modesty; and as little did he care to lessen the advantageous Notion these People had of him, which he consider'd as a Point of the utmost Importance.

He pursued his March the next Day for four Leagues, thro' a more temperate and pleasant Country, whose beautiful Groves and Gardens spoke the Bounty of Nature, and the Industry of Art. He made a Halt in *Amemeca*, where he quarter'd his Army in a Village tolerably well inhabited, built on a Creek of the great Lake, one Half in the Water, and the other on firm Land, at the Foot of a little Mountain, rugged and barren: To this Place resorted a great many *Mexicans*, with their Arms,

and

and military Ornaments: And tho' it was believ'd at firſt, that Curioſity only brought them thither, their Numbers increas'd to ſuch a Degree, as to give Umbrage; nor wanted there ſome Reaſons to create a Jealouſy of their Deſigns. *Cortes* had recourſe to ſuch Impreſſions on their Senſes as he thought proper to ſtop and affright them; making a Diſcharge of ſome Fire-Arms, and Pieces of Artillery, in the Air, and provoking the Fury of the Horſes; and the Interpreters repreſented thoſe ſtrange Sounds, as the Forerunners of ſome ſiniſter Event: By which Means he oblig'd them to retire to a greater Diſtance from his Quarters before Night came on. We cannot affirm, that they came with any hoſtile Intentions; nor doth it ſeem likely, that they ſhould undertake any new Conſpiracy, when *Motezuma* was reduc'd to let himſelf be ſeen; tho' afterwards the Centinels kill'd ſome *Indians* for advancing too near, with an Appearance of reconnoitring the Quarters: And it is poſſible, that ſome Chief of the *Mexicans* might lead his Troops thither, with a Deſign to ſurprize the *Spaniards*; as believing it might not be diſagreeable to their King, who, they thought, was making a Peace repugnant to his Temper and Intereſt: But this is no more than Conjecture; for in the Morning they only diſcover'd ſome Troops of People without Arms, who had placed themſelves in the Road to ſee the Strangers paſs.

ORDERS

ORDERS were now giving for the Army to march, when four *Mexican* Cavaliers arriv'd at the Quarters, with Notice, that Prince *Cacumatzin*, Nephew to *Motezuma*, and Lord of *Tezeuco*, was coming to visit *Cortes* on the Part of his Uncle; nor was it long before he arriv'd, accompany'd by a great many Nobles, richly adorn'd, and bearing the Ensigns of Peace. He was carried on the Shoulders of some *Indians* of his Family, in a Chair cover'd with various Feathers, whose Colours were diversify'd with Design and Proportion. He was a young Man of about 25 Years of Age, of an agreeable Presence. So soon as he alighted, some of his Servants went before to sweep the Ground where he was to tread, putting back the People on each Side with much Ceremony, which, howsoever ridiculous, carried a Shew of Authority. *Cortes* went to receive him as far as the Door of his Apartment, having adorn'd himself as usual on such Occasions; and, at his Approach, made a profound Reverence: Which the Prince return'd, touching the Earth, and afterwards his Lips with his Right Hand: He took his Place with a free easy Air, and spoke with the Composure of a Man, who knew how to look on Novelties without Surprize. The Substance of his Discourse was, in proper Expressions, *to welcome* Cortes, *and all the Captains of his Army; to inform him of the amicable Disposition with which the great* Motezuma *expected them, and how much he desired to*

establish

eſtabliſh a firm Correſpondence and Friendſhip with the Puiſſant Eaſtern *Prince who ſent him; whoſe Power he was obliged to acknowledge, for ſome Reaſons, which they ſhould underſtand from his* own Mouth: And then, by Way of private Diſcourſe, entertain'd him (as the other Embaſſadors had done before) *with the Difficulties that oppos'd his coming to* Mexico, *pretending that the People were much diſtreſs'd by that Year's Barrenneſs all over the Country*; and telling him (as a Point that gave the King much Concern) *how ill the* Spaniards *muſt be accommodated, where the Inhabitants themſelves wanted neceſſary Subſiſtance.* To this *Cortes* reply'd, (in that myſterious Manner, by which he conſtantly maintain'd the Reſpect and Awe he had imprinted on the People) *That the King his Maſter, being a Monarch without Equal in the other World where the Sun riſes, had likewiſe ſome Reaſons of high Import for offering his Friendſhip to* Motezuma, *and for communicating to him ſeveral Affairs which eſſentially regarded his Perſon and Dignity, and ſuch as would not be undeſerving of his Acknowledgment: And that for his own Part, he did with a moſt particular Reſpect accept the Liberty he gave him, to deliver his Embaſſy, without being the leaſt in Pain for the preſent Scarcity of the Country: That the* Spaniards *requir'd but little Nouriſhment to ſupport their Vigour, and were inured to ſuffer, and even deſpiſe thoſe Inconve-*

conveniencies and Fatigues, which diſtreſs'd Men of an inferior Species. Cacumatzin ſaid no more to divert his Reſolution; but receiv'd ſome ſmall Jewels of an extraordinary Glaſs, which *Cortes* preſented him, with abundance of Joy and Acknowledgment; accompanying the Army as far as *Tezeuco*, the Capital of his Dominion; from whence he proceeded to *Mexico*, with the Anſwer to his Embaſſy.

Tezeuco was in thoſe Days one of the greateſt Cities of that Empire: Some ſay 'twas as big as *Sevil*, and others, that it vied with *Mexico* itſelf for Grandeur, and pretended (not without Reaſon) to be ſuperior to it in Point of Antiquity. The principal Front of the Buildings was extended on the Border of a ſpacious Lake, in a delightful Situation, where the Cauſey of *Mexico* began: And by that *Cortes* purſu'd his March, without ſtoping at *Tezeuco*; for his Intention was to advance to *Iztacpalapa*, three Leagues forward; from whence he could with Eaſe the next Day enter *Mexico* in good Time. In this Part the Cauſey was about twenty Foot broad, made of Stone and Lime, with ſome Works on the Surface: In the Middle of the Way upon the ſame Cauſey, there was another Town of about two thouſand Houſes, called *Quitlavaca*; and becauſe it was founded in the Waters, they called it *Venuzuela*, or little *Venice*. The Cazique went out with a great Retinue to receive *Cortes*, and deſired he would honour his City

City that Night with his Preſence; this he did ſo earneſtly, and with ſuch an Appearance of Affection, that *Cortes* judged it neceſſary to yield to his Entreaties, for fear of diſobliging him: Beſides that he found his Stay would be of Advantage in order to the making his Obſervations; for as he had now a nearer View of the Danger, he was jealous of their breaking the Cauſey, or taking away the Bridges, to obſtruct his March.

From this Place might be ſeen the greateſt Part of the Lake, beautified with various Towns and Cauſeys; Towers and Pinnacles which ſeem'd to ſwim upon the Waters, Trees and Gardens out of their proper Element; beſides a Multitude of *Indians*, who were approaching in their Canoes to behold the *Spaniards*, and a much greater Number on the Battlements of the Houſes; a Sight extremely beautiful, and a Novelty ſurprizing beyond Imagination.

The Army was ſufficiently accommodated in theſe Quarters; for here the People entertain'd their Gueſts with Civility, and a chearful Aſpect; and their Politeneſs was a Proof, that they liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Montezuma*'s Court: But the Cazique was not able to refrain from manifeſting the little Affection he bore that Emperor, and that he had the ſame Deſire with the reſt, to free himſelf from the entolerable Yoke of his Government: For he encouraged the Soldiers to the Enterprize, which he repreſented as very eaſy; and told

told the Interpreters, (as desiring that all should know it) *That the Causey from thence to* Mexico, *was more capacious, and better, than what they had passed; that they had nothing to apprehend on the Way, nor from the Towns on the Borders of it; that the City of* Iztacpalapa (*thro' which they were to pass*) *was peaceably inclin'd, and had Orders to receive, and entertain the* Spaniards *as Friends: And notwithstanding the Lord of that City was a Relation of* Motezuma's, *they had no Reason to fear on that Score; for the Prodigies from Heaven, the Answers of his Oracles, and the Accounts he had receiv'd of the* Spanish *Army's Exploits, had render'd him humble and dispirited; for which Reason they would find him desirous of Peace, and rather disposed to suffer, than provoke.* The Cazique spoke Truth, but with some Mixture of Passion, and Flattery: Notwithstanding which, *Cortes* divulg'd and exaggerated the Account he had given among his Soldiers; and it must be confessed it came in Season, that those who were not over-forward in the Pursuit of this Enterprize might not be discouraged at the great Variety of wonderful Objects, which they had in View, from whence they might form Apprehensions of the Grandeur of the *Mexican* Court, and the formidable Power of the King. But the Cazique's Intelligence, with the Reflections they made on *Motezuma*'s Perplexity, and his want of Spirit, had such an Effect

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at this Juncture, that all the Soldiers were tranſported with Joy, where they found Cauſe of Aſtoniſhment; and their Hopes of Succeſs were rais'd in Proportion to their Admiration of what they ſaw.

CHAP. X.

The Army marches to Iztacpalapa; *they make a Diſpoſition for their Entry into* Mexico. *A Deſcription of the Pomp in which* Motezuma *went to receive the* Spaniards.

THE next Morning, a little after Break of Day, they form'd themſelves upon the ſame Cauſey, as well as it would allow, being in that Part wide enough for Eight Horſes to march in Front. The Army conſiſted then of about Four Hundred and Fifty *Spaniards*, and Six Thouſand *Indians*, *Tlaſcalans*, *Zempoalans*, and other Confederates. They continued their March (without any remarkable Adventure) to the City of *Iztacpalapa*, where they intended to halt; a Place far exceeding the reſt, in the Height of its Towers, and Manner of Building: The City conſiſted of near Ten Thouſand Houſes, of two and three Stories high, Part of which were built upon the Lake, but the much greater Part upon the Shore, in a delightful and commodious Situation. The Lord of this Place went out

out with a numerous Train to receive the Army; and was aſſiſted on this Occaſion by the Princes of *Magiſcatzingo* and *Cuyoacan*, which were Towns bordering upon the Lake: They brought three ſeparate Preſents of various Fruits, Fowls, and other Proviſions, with ſome Pieces of Gold, worth near Two Thouſand Peſo's: They preſented themſelves together, and made themſelves known, by telling each his Name and Dignity, relying on their Preſents to ſupply what was wanting in their Words.

The Entry of the *Spaniards* into this City was welcom'd with loud Acclamations of the People, whoſe unruly Joy, on that Occaſion, aſſur'd the moſt jealous Spirits of their Sincerity: The Lodging of the *Spaniards* was prepared in the Prince's own Palace, where they were all under Cover; the reſt in the Courts and Porches were ſufficiently accommodated for one Night, which they had Reaſon to paſs without any Apprehenſion of Danger. The Palace was large, and well built, with diſtinct Apartments both above and below; among which were many Chambers, whoſe Roofs were flat, and of Cedar, and not without Furniture; for ſome had Cotton Hangings, of various colour'd Painting, well proportion'd. There were in *Iztacpalapa* many Fountains of ſweet and wholeſome Water, convey'd by ſeveral Aqueducts from the neighbouring Mountains, and a great Number of Gardens, large and well cultivated: Among which there was one far more ſpacious and beautiful than the reſt, which the

the Cazique had for his own Diverſion: To this he carried *Cortes* that Evening, with ſome of his Captains and Soldiers; as deſirous to omit nothing that might entertain his Gueſts, and at the ſame Time gratify his own Pride and Vanity. There he had Fruit-Trees diſpoſed into very large Walks, leaving Room for ſmaller Plants, and a Parterre with Diviſions made of Canes interwoven, and covered with odoriferous Herbs; beſides ſeveral Squares cultivated with great Induſtry, and adorned with Variety of Flowers: In the Middle of the Garden was a Pond of freſh Water of quadrangular Form, encompaſs'd with a Wall made of Stone and Lime, with Stairs on all Sides to the Bottom: It was ſo large, that each Side contained Four Hundred Paces; and here Fiſh of the moſt delicate Kind were bred, and ſeveral Sorts of Water-Fowl reſorted hither, ſome known in *Europe*, and others of beautiful Figure, and extraordinary Feathers: A Work well worthy of a Prince, and which belonging to a Vaſſal of *Motezuma*'s, afforded an Idea of the greater Magnificence of his Sovereign. The Night paſſed very quietly, and the People returned with Pleaſure, and a frank open Behaviour, to the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*; but it was obſerved, they ſpoke here after another Manner concerning the Affairs of *Motezuma*, than the reſt of his Subjects: For they all praiſed his Government, and extolled his Grandeur; whether the Honour the Cazique had of belonging to him, had imprinted that Idea on

their Minds, or that they were intimidated by the Neighbourhood of the Tyrant.

THEY had two Leagues of Cauſey from hence to *Mexico*, and took the Morning before them: For *Cortes* was deſirous to make his Entry, and pay his Compliments to *Motezuma* in good Time, ſo as to have ſome Part of the Day left to reconnoitre and fortify his Quarters. He continued his March in the accuſtomed Order, and leaving on the one Side the City of *Magiſcatzingo*, ſituate on the Water, and on the other, that of *Cuyocan*, upon the Cauſey, beſides a great many Towns, which were ſeen at a Diſtance upon the Lake, they diſcovered, as they drew ſomewhat nearer, (and not without Admiration) the great City of *Mexico*, elevated to a vaſt Degree above all the reſt, and carrying an Air of Dominion in the Pride of her Buildings. They had marched little leſs than half Way, when they were met by more then Four Thouſand Nobles and Officers of the City, who came to receive them; and whoſe Compliments delayed their March a conſiderable Time, tho' they only paid their Obeyſance, and then advanc'd before the Troops towards *Mexico*. In the March, a little before the City, was a Bulwark of Stone, with two ſmall Caſtles on the Sides, which took up all the Breadth of the Cauſey; the Gates opened on another Part of the Cauſey, terminated by a Draw-Bridge, which defended the Entrance of the City with a ſecond Fortification. As ſoon as the Nobles who accompanied them had paſſed

paſſed to the other Side of the Bridge, they made a Lane for the Army to march, falling back on each Side; and then there appeared a very large and ſpacious Street, with great Houſes uniformly built; the Windows and Battlements were full of Spectators, but the Street intirely empty. And they inform'd *Cortes*, that it was ſo order'd, becauſe *Motezuma* reſolv'd to come in Perſon to receive him, in order to diſtinguiſh him by a particular Mark of Favour.

A little after this, appear'd the firſt Troop of the Royal Retinue, which conſiſted of about Two Hundred Noblemen of *Motezuma*'s Family, cloathed in one Livery, with great Plumes of Feathers, alike in Faſhion and Colour. They came in two Files, with remarkable Silence and Compoſure, bare-footed, without lifting their Eyes from the Ground, in Manner of a Proceſſion. So ſoon as they approached the *Spaniards*, they fell back on each Side, in the ſame Order with the reſt; and then there appeared afar off, a larger Company, better dreſſed, and of greater Dignity; in the midſt of which was *Motezuma*, carried upon the Shoulders of his Favourites, in a Chair of burniſh'd Gold, which glitter'd thro' the various Works of Feathers, placed in handſome Proportion about it; the nice Diſtribution of which, in ſome meaſure, ſeemed to outvie the Coſt of the Metal. Four Perſons of great Diſtinction followed his Chair, holding over him a Canopy, made of interwoven green Feathers, ſo put together, that they form'd a Kind of Web,

with some Ornaments of Silver: A little before him went three Officers, with golden Rods in their Hands, which they lifted up on high from time to time, as a Signal of the King's Approach; that all might prostrate themselves before him, and not presume to look up, which was an Irreverence punished as Sacrilege. *Cortes* dismounted before he came up with him, and *Motezuma* at the same Time alighted from his Chair: Some *Indians* went before spreading Carpets, that his Feet might not touch the Ground, which, in their Opinion, was unworthy of the Honour.

He came forward to the Ceremony with a slow solemn Pace; leaning with his Hands on the Arms of the Princes of *Iztacpalapa* and *Tezeuco*, his Cousins, and advanced some Steps to receive *Cortes*. He was of a good Presence, about Forty Years of Age, of a middle Stature, and a Constitution rather delicate than strong; his Nose wes aquiline, and he had a fairer Complexion than the generality of the *Indians*; his Hair came just below his Ears, his Eyes were lively, his Look majestick and thoughtful. For his Apparel, he wore a Mantle of the finest Cotton, tied carelessly on his Shoulders, covering the greatest Part of his Body, with the End trailing on the Ground, adorned with different Jewels of Gold, Pearls, and precious Stones, in such Number that they seem'd rather a Weight than an Ornament. His Crown was a Mitre, of light Gold, ending in a Point before; the hinder Part was made rounder:

On

On his Feet he wore Shoes of hammered Gold, whoſe Straps, ſtudded with the ſame, bound them to his Feet, and came round Part of his Leg, like the *Roman* military Sandals.

CORTES advanc'd with all becoming Haſte, and made a profound Reverence; which *Motezuma* anſwered, by laying his Hand upon the Ground, and raiſing it afterwards to his Lips: A new and unheard-of Condeſcenſion among thoſe Princes, but much more ſo in *Motezuma*, who would ſcarcely bend his Neck to his Gods, and affected an Exceſs of Pride, which, it may be, he knew not how to diſtinguiſh from Majeſty. Theſe Demonſtrations of Reſpect, and his going out in Perſon to receive *Cortes*, occaſion'd great Admiration among the *Indians*, and added to their Eſteem of the *Spaniards*; for they could not be perſuaded, but that the King had well conſidered what he did, ſubmitting their own Reaſon to his with an implicit Reſignation. *Cortes* had put upon his Coat of Mail, a Chain of Glaſs, curiouſly ſet together, in imitation of Diamonds and Emeralds, which he had reſerved as a Preſent for the firſt Audience; and being cloſe to *Motezuma*, he threw it about his Neck. The two Princes who ſupported him, would have ſtopped *Cortes*, with ſome Emotion letting him underſtand, that it was not lawful to approach ſo near the Perſon of the King: But he reprimanded them, and was ſo well pleaſed with the Preſent, that he placed it among his Jewels, as a Thing of ineſtimable Value; and to return his Acknowledgment in

a Manner remarkably generous, while the reſt of the Officers came up to be preſented, he ordered a Collar to be brought, the richeſt Piece he had among his Jewels. It was of Crimſon Shells, extremely valued in that Country, ſet together with ſuch Art, that at every one of them hung four Crabs of Gold, very much to the Life; and he himſelf put it on *Cortes*'s Neck; a Favour which occaſioned a ſecond Wonder among the *Mexicans*. The Speech of *Cortes* was ſhort, and fitted to the Occaſion: *Motezuma*'s Anſwer was likewiſe in few Words, diſcreet and decent: He immediately commanded one of the two Princes who went by his Side, to conduct and accompany *Hernan Cortes* to his Lodging; and leaning on the other, went to his Chair, and returned to his Palace with the ſame Pomp and Gravity.

The Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Mexico* was on the Eighth of *Nov.* in the Year 1519. the Day of the four crowned Martyrs. The Lodging provided for them was one of the Royal Houſes, built by *Axayaca*, the Father of *Motezuma*: In Largeneſs it vied with the principal Palace of the *Mexican* Emperors, and had the Appearance of a Fortreſs, thick Stone Walls, and ſome Towers upon the Flanks, which made the Defence of it eaſy: it contained all the Army, and the firſt Care of *Cortes* was to view every Part of it for the better Diſtribution of his Guards, and Lodgment of his Artillery, and to ſecure his Quarters:

Some

Some Chambers designed for the superior Officers were furnish'd with Cotton Hangings of various Colours, which was the chief Part of their Manufacture, more or less fine: The Chairs were of Wood, all of one Piece: The Bedsteads had Curtains like Pavilions; but the Bottoms of the Beds were of Palm-Mats, and the Bolsters of the same rolled up. The greatest Princes there had no better Beds, neither did the People much consult their Ease; for living according to the Rules of Nature, they were content with what was necessary: And we know not whether this Ignorance of Superfluity in those *Barbarians* might not be call'd a Happiness.

CHAP. XI.

Motezuma *comes the same Day in the Evening to visit* Cortes *at his Lodging; the Speech he made before he heard the Embassy: And the Answer of* Cortes.

It was but little past Mid-day when the *Spaniards* enter'd the House appointed for their Lodging, where they found a splendid Banquet prepar'd for *Cortes*, and the Captains of his Army; and great Abundance of Provisions less delicate for the Soldiers, with many *Indian* Servants, who serv'd them with Meat and Drink, in profound Silence, and exact Or-

der. In the Evening came *Motezuma*, with the ſame Pomp and Attendance as before, to viſit *Cortes*; of which being advertis'd, he went out to receive him in the principal Square of the Houſe, with all the Reſpect due for ſuch a Favour. He accompanied him as far as the Door of his Apartment, where he made him a profound Reverence: *Motezuma* paſs'd by him, and took his Seat with an Air of Negligence and Majeſty: He preſently commanded a Chair to be brought for *Cortes*; and made a Signal to the Cavaliers who attended him, to retire to the Wall. *Cortes* did the ſame to his Officers: The Interpreters came, and when *Cortes* was preparing to begin his Speech, *Motezuma* ſtopp'd him, and ſignified, that he had ſomewhat to ſay before he gave him Audience; and Authors report, that he ſpoke in the following Manner:

" Before you deliver the Embaſſy of the " Great Prince who ſent you, illuſtrious Cap- " tain, and valiant Stranger, both you and I " muſt paſs by, and bury in Oblivion, what " Fame hath publiſh'd of our Perſons and " Conduct, abuſing our Ears with idle Ru- " mours, which prepoſſeſs us againſt Truth, " and render her obſcure, either by Flattery, " or Reproach. In ſome Places you have been " told, That I am one of the immortal Gods; " my Power and my Perſon have been ex- " alted to the Heavens: In others, that the " Buſineſs of Fortune is to enrich me; that " the Walls and Coverings of my Palace are

" all

" all Gold, and that the Earth groans beneath
" the Weight of my Treaſure: In others, that
" I am a Tyrant, cruel, and proud, abhorring
" Juſtice, and a Stranger to Mercy. But both
" the one and the other have equally impos'd
" upon you by their Exaggerations: And that
" you may not imagine me a God, but be
" ſenſible of the Folly of thoſe who ſuppoſe
" me to be ſo, this Part of my Body (ſaid he,
" uncovering his Arm) will undeceive you;
" and prove that you talk to a Mortal, of the
" ſame Species with the reſt of Men; but
" more noble, and more powerful. My
" Riches, I deny not, are great; but the Ac-
" count of my Vaſſals makes them much
" greater than they are. This Houſe, where-
" in you lodge, is one of my Palaces: Be-
" hold the Walls made of Stone and Lime,
" ordinary Materials, which owe their Value
" to Art: And now, from both theſe In-
" ſtances, judge how likely it is, that my Ty-
" rannies have been magnified in the ſame
" Manner. Suſpend your Judgment at leaſt,
" till you enter into my Reaſons; and lay no
" Streſs on the Accuſations brought againſt me
" by my rebellious Subjects, till you have firſt
" inform'd yourſelf, whether that which they
" call Oppreſſion be not Chaſtiſement; and
" whether they can complain of my Severity
" without having deſerv'd it.

" After the ſame Manner have we receiv'd
" various Informations of your Nature and
" Actions: Some have ſaid, that you are Gods;

" that

" that the wild Beasts obey you; that you grasp
" the Thunder in your Hands, and command
" the Elements: Others have reported that
" you are wicked, revengeful, proud, Slaves
" to your Vices, and transported with an in-
" satiable Thirst of the Gold which our Coun-
" try produces. But now I see you are of the
" same Composition and Form with the rest
" of Men; tho' you are distinguish'd from us
" by some Accidents, which the Difference of
" Countries occasions among Mortals. These
" Beasts which obey you, I find are large Deer,
" which you have tamed, and bred up in such
" imperfect Knowledge, as may be attain'd to
" by the Instinct of Animals. Your Arms,
" which resemble Lightning, I conceive to
" be Barrels of unknown Metal; whose Effect
" like that of our Sarbacans, proceeds from
" Air compress'd, which strives for a Vent,
" and forces its Way thro' all Impediments:
" The Fire, which your Barrels discharge with
" greater Noise, is some Secret more than na-
" tural of that Science, which our Magicians
" understand. For the rest, which has been
" related of your Proceedings, I find likewise,
" according to the Observation of my Em-
" bassadors and Servants, that you are cour-
" teous, and religious; that your Resent-
" ments are founded on Reason: Hardships
" you bear chearfully; and, among your other
" Virtues, discover Liberality, which rarely
" accompanies a covetous Mind. So that we
" must on both Sides forget all past Informa-

" tions,

" tions, and be thankful to our Eyes for un-
" deceiving our Imaginations: Which taking
" for granted, I would have you underſtand,
" before you begin your Diſcourſe, that we
" are not ignorant, or ſtand in need of your
" Perſuaſions, to believe, that the Great Prince
" you obey, is deſcended from our ancient
" *Quezalcoal*, Lord of the Seven Caves of
" the *Navatlaques*, and lawful King of thoſe
" Seven Nations, which gave Beginning to
" the *Mexican* Empire. By one of his Pro-
" phecies, which we reverence as an infallible
" Truth, and by a Tradition of many Ages,
" preſerv'd in our Annals, we know, that he
" departed from theſe Countries to conquer
" new Regions in the *Eaſt*; leaving a Pro-
" miſe, that in Proceſs of Time, his Deſcen-
" dants ſhould return to model our Laws, and
" amend our Government. And, becauſe the
" Marks you carry agree with this Prophecy,
" and the Prince of the *Eaſt*, who ſends you,
" manifeſts in your very Actions, the Great-
" neſs of ſo illuſtrious a Progenitor, we have
" already determin'd, that all Things ſhall be
" done for his Honour, to the utmoſt of our
" Ability; of which I have thought fit to ad-
" vertiſe you, that without any Conſtraint you
" may declare what you have to propoſe, and
" attribute to ſo noble a Cauſe, this Exceſs of
" my Goodneſs." *Motezuma* in this manner ended the Diſcourſe, which he had calculated to prepoſſeſs the *Spaniards* with an Opinion of his Integrity, and which he deliver'd in a Style

of

of Majesty: The Substance of it gave sufficient Ground to *Cortes* (without disputing the Illusions which he found so universally establish'd in the Minds of the *Indians*) to answer in these or the like Terms:

" Sir, After rendering Thanks for the extreme Goodness with which you condescend to hearken to our Embassy, and the superior Knowledge which you employ in our Favour, by contemning (to our great Advantage) the Misrepresentations of common Fame, I must likewise acquaint you, that your Embassadors have been receiv'd by us with that Respect and Veneration which is agreeable to your Greatness. Much we have heard concerning you in these Countries, under your own Dominion; some vilifying your Actions, others placing you among the Gods: But this Way of exaggerating is prejudicial to the Truth; for as the Voice of Man is the Trumpet of Fame, so is it influenc'd by his Passions; and these either do not understand Things as they are, or do not relate them as they are understood. The *Spaniards*, Sir, have that penetrating View, which discovers the different Colours of Discourse, and in them the Deceit of the Heart. We have given no Credit either to your Rebels, or Flatterers: We are come into your Presence, with certain Assurance of your being a great Prince, and a Friend to Reason, without any Necessity of being convinc'd by our Senses that you are mortal. We *Spa-*

" *niards*

" *niards* alſo are mortal, but more valiant,
" and of greater Underſtanding than your Vaſ-
" ſals, born in a Climate of more powerful
" Influences than yours: The Beaſts which
" obey us, are not like your Deer, but of a
" Kind more fierce and generous; Brutes in-
" clin'd to War, and which know how to
" aſpire with a ſort of Ambition, to the Glory
" of their Maſters. Our Fire-Arms are the
" Effect of human Induſtry, without owing
" any Part of their Production to the Skill of
" Magicians; a Science abominable among us,
" and more contemned than Ignorance itſelf.
" I thought it my Duty to eſtabliſh theſe Prin-
" ciples, that I might the better comply with
" the Commands you have laid upon me. I
" am now to acquaint you, with all due Re-
" verence to your Majeſty, that I come as Em-
" baſſador from the moſt powerful Monarch
" the Sun ſhines on from his firſt Riſing: He
" deſires to be your Friend and Confederate,
" not by Virtue of thoſe ancient Rights, which
" you have declar'd, nor for any other Reaſon,
" than to open a Communication between the
" two Monarchies, that by this Means he may
" have the Pleaſure to free you from your Er-
" rors. And tho' he might (according to the
" Tradition of your own Hiſtories) pretend to
" be more abſolute in theſe Dominions, he
" only deſires to make uſe of his Authority,
" to gain your Credit in Things entirely for
" your own Advantage; and to inform you,
" Sir, and you, *Mexicans*, who hear me, that

you

" you live in Error, with regard to the Reli-
" gion you profess; adoring insensible Pieces
" of Wood, the Work of your own Hands
" and Fancies: Forasmuch as there is but one
" true God, the eternal Cause of all Things,
" without Beginning or Ending; whose infi-
" nite Power created out of Nothing the won-
" derful Fabrick of the Heavens, the Sun
" which enlightens us, the Earth which sustains
" us, and the first Man from whom we all
" proceed, under equal Obligation to acknow-
" ledge and adore our First Cause. This very
" Obligation is imprinted in your Souls, of
" whose Immortality you are not ignorant;
" but which nevertheless you debase and de-
" stroy, by paying Adoration to Devils, un-
" clean Spirits, Creatures of the same God,
" who for Ingratitude and Rebellion are cast
" into subterranean Fires, of which you have
" some imperfect Image in your Volcanos.
" These, who thro' their Envy and Wicked-
" ness, are mortal Enemies to Mankind, en-
" deavour your Perdition, by causing them-
" selves to be ador'd in your abominable Idols:
" Theirs is the Voice you sometimes hear in
" the Answers of your Oracles; theirs the Il-
" lusions which impose on your Reason the
" Errors of Imagination. I am sensible, Sir,
" that such high Mysteries are not to be ex-
" plain'd at this present Juncture: But the
" King, whose ancient Superiority you ac-
" knowledge, exhorts you to hear me on this
" Subject with an unprejudiced Mind, that
" you

" you may taſte of that Repoſe which your " Spirit will find in Truth, and be ſenſible " how often you have reſiſted natural Reaſon, " which has afforded you Light ſufficient to " diſcover your Errors. This is the firſt Thing " which the King my Maſter deſires of your " Majeſty, and the chief Propoſal I have to " make to you, as the moſt effectual Means to " eſtabliſh with a laſting Amity the Confede- " racy of the two Crowns on the ſolid Foun- " dation of Religion, which uniting us in " Principles, may introduce and fix a volun- " tary Friendſhip in our Minds." Thus did *Hernan Cortes* endeavour to maintain, in *Motezuma*'s Belief, the Reputation of his Forces, without departing from the Truth; making a dexterous Uſe of the Original they had beſtow'd on his King; and not contradict- ing what they imagin'd, that he might give the greater Authority to his Embaſſy. But *Mote- zuma* heard the Point of Religion without any Mark of Conviction; continuing ſuperſti- tiouſly obſtinate in his Pagan Errors: And riſing from his Seat, " I do accept (ſaid he) with all ' Acknowledgment, the Confederacy and ' Friendſhip you propoſe from the great De- ' ſcendant of *Quezalcoal*; but all Gods are ' good, and yours may be what you ſay, with- ' out Offence to mine. Repoſe yourſelves ' now; you are in your own Houſe, where ' you ſhall be ſerv'd with all the Regard that ' is due to your Valour, and to the great Prince ' who ſends you." He then immediately gave

Orders

Orders for some *Indians* attending without to enter, and before he went away, presented *Hernan Cortes* with several Pieces of Gold, a Quantity of Cotton Robes, and several Curiosities of Feathers; a considerable Gift both for the Value and Manner. He distributed at the same Time some Jewels and Things of the like Kind among the *Spaniards* who were present, without seeming to think he laid them under any Obligation, and doing all with a chearful Generosity: He beheld *Cortes* and his Soldiers with a sort of Satisfaction, in which one might perceive, the Disquiet he had lain under before; in the same manner as a Man shews how far his Fears have prevail'd over him, by the Joy he discovers in being delivered from them.

CHAP. XII.

Cortes *visits* Motezuma *in his Palace; the Greatness and Furniture of it are described: An Account of what passed in that Conference, and in others which they had afterwards upon the Subject of Religion.*

THE following Day *Hernan Cortes* desired an Audience, which was granted with such Readiness, that the same Persons who were to accompany him, returned with the Answer: These were particularly appointed to

to attend Embaſſadors, as Maſters of the Ceremonies of that Country. The General put on a gay Habit, without quitting his Arms (for he had a mind to be introduced in his military Dreſs); and carried with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, with ſix or ſeven favourite Soldiers; among whom was *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who had already begun to make Obſervations, in order to compile a Hiſtory

The Streets were all filled with an innumerable Concourſe of People, who crowded to behold the *Spaniards*, but yet without hindering their Paſſage; and among their Compliments and Acclamations, the Word *Teule* was often diſtinguiſhed, which in their Language ſignifies a God: A word, the Importance whereof was underſtood; and which had no ill Sound in the Ears of thoſe who founded part of their Courage on the Reſpect that was paid them.

At a conſiderable Diſtance appeared the Palace of *Motezuma*, which ſufficiently ſhewed the great Magnificence of their Kings: The Pile was ſo very large, that it opened with Thirty Gates, to as many different Streets: The principal Front took up one whole Side of a very ſpacious Parade, and was of Jaſper, black, red, and white, well poliſhed and skillfully placed: Over the Gate in a large Shield, were ſeen the Arms of *Motezuma*, a Griffin, half Eagle, and half Lion, with the Wings ex-

tended for Flight, and a Tyger in his Talons. Some maintain, that this Griffin was an Eagle, becauſe there were no Griffins in that Country, as if there were Reaſon to believe, that other Parts of the World produc'd them; whereas Naturaliſts place them in the Number of fabulous Birds; and we ſhall rather chuſe to ſuppoſe theſe ſort of Monſters the Production of Fancy, by a Liberty allowed to Poets and Painters.

As they approached the principal Gate, the Officers of *Motezuma*, who accompanied *Cortes*, walked up to one Side of it; and then retiring with a ſhew of ſome Myſtery in their Motions, formed a Semi-circle, that they might enter the Gate by two and two: A cuſtomary Ceremony; for they thought it an Irreverence to enter the Royal Palace in a Crowd; and by their ſtepping back, they ſhewed how much they feared to tread ſo ſacred a Place. After having paſſed three Squares, built and adorned in the ſame manner as the Front of the Palace, they came to *Motezuma*'s Apartment, where they equally admired the Largeneſs of the Rooms, and the Furniture: The Floors were covered with Mats of different Work; the Walls with Hangings of Cotton, and Furrs of Rabbits interwoven; and the innermoſt Room with Hangings of Feathers, both the one and the other beautified with lively Colours, and various Figures. The Roofs were of Cypreſs, Cedar, and other odoriferous Woods, with different Foliages and Relievos;

and

and in this Building it was remarkable, that without having found the Uſe of Nails, they formed large Ceilings, fixing the Timber-Work and Planks in ſuch manner, as to make them ſuſtain one another.

In each of theſe ſpacious Rooms, there was a great Number of Officers of different Rank, who kept the Entrance according to their Quality and Office: And at the Door of the Anti-Chamber waited the Nobility and Magiſtrates, who received *Cortes* with much Civility; but made him ſtop till they had taken off their Shoes, and the coſtly Cloaths with which they were adorned, and put on others of leſs Finery: For it was thought a great Indecency among theſe People, to appear in their richeſt Habits before the King. The *Spaniards* obſerved every thing; every thing was new to them; and every thing imprinted a Reſpect; the Greatneſs of the Palace, the Ceremonies, the Attendants, and even the profound Silence of ſo numerous a Train of Domeſticks.

Motezuma was ſtanding with all his Enſigns of Royalty about him, and advanced ſome Steps to receive *Cortes*; who approaching with a low Bow, he laid his Arms upon his Shoulders, and then ſaluted the reſt of the *Spaniards* who waited on him by an obliging Look: Then ſeating himſelf, he commanded *Cortes* to ſit, and all thoſe who came with him, without ſuffering any Excuſe. The Viſit was long, and the Converſation familiar.

The Emperor asked *Cortes* several Questions concerning the Nature and Politicks of the *Eastern* Countries: Approving what he thought right; and letting him see, that where he doubted, he knew how to support his Objections by proper Arguments. Then he touch'd upon the Dependency and Obligations of the *Mexicans* to the Descendant of their first King: And expressed his particular Satisfaction, that the Prophecy concerning the Strangers, who had been promised to his Ancestors so many Ages past, was compleated in his Time: And if he spoke not with Sincerity, he understood very well how to hide his Thoughts. And tho' this was a Notion, vain and despicable in its Original and Circumstances, yet it was of great Importance to the *Spaniard's* upon this Occasion; for by the Help of it they found the Way open for their Entrance. Thus many Times from Things trivial in their Beginning, proceed Consequences of the greatest Importance. *Hernan Cortes* dextrously led him to the Topic of Religion; enlarging (among other Things he told him of his Country) upon the Rites and Customs of the Christians, to the end that the Vices and Abominations of his Idolatry might appear the more detestable by such a Contrast. He made use of this Opportunity, to exclaim against Sacrifices of human Blood, and to shew how horrible and contrary to Nature it was, to eat the Men they sacrificed: A brutish Custom prevailing in this Court

Court, proporionably to the vaſt Number of Sacrifices which aggravated the Crime of Gluttony.

This Conference was not altogether uſeleſs; for *Motezuma* yielding in ſome degree to the Force of Reaſon, baniſhed from his Table all Diſhes of human Fleſh; but did not dare all at once to forbid his Subjects the Uſe of it. Nor was he convinced as to the Point of Sacrifices: Saying, *It was no Cruelty to offer to his Gods, Priſoners of War, already condemn'd to die; nor did he think it reaſonable to extend the Denomination of Neighbour to Enemies.*

He gave but ſmall Hopes of his Converſion; tho' *Hernan Cortes*, and Father *Bartholomé de Olmedo*, endeavoured ſeveral times to lead him into the Way of Truth. He had Capacity enough to comprehend ſome Advantages of the Catholick Religion, and not entirely to overlook the Abuſes of his own; but he preſently returned to his old Theme, *That his Gods were good in that Country, as the Chriſtian God was in theirs:* And he was obliged to put a Force on himſelf to conceal his Anger, when the Argument was preſs'd too hard againſt him. He was much diſturbed within himſelf at theſe Conferences; for on the one hand he endeavoured to oblige the *Spaniards*, by a Complaiſance which hardly became his Dignity; and on the other was preſs'd by a neceſſary Affectation of Religion, which had acquired, and, as he believed, preſerved his

Crown: This made him apprehend the Contempt of his Vassals, in case they should find him less zealous than formerly for the Worship of his Gods: A miserable Policy, and proper to Tyrants; to command with Pride, and reflect with a slavish Fear!

He made such an Ostentation of his Obstinacy, that in a very few Days, taking *Hernan Cortes*, and Father *Bartholomé*, with some Captains and particular Soldiers along with him, to see the Grandeur of his Court, he resolv'd, upon a Principle of Vanity, to shew them the greater Magnificence of his Temples. He commanded them to stop a little at the Entrance, and went forward himself to consult the Priests, Whether it were lawful for him to bring into the Presence of his Gods, those who refus'd to adore them? It was concluded, that they might enter; but that he should first admonish them to behave themselves with Respect: And two or three of the most antient Priests went out with the Permission and the Request. Immediately all the Gates of this spacious Edifice were opened; and *Motezuma* took upon himself to explain all the secret Places of Worship, the Use of the Vessels, and other Instruments and Images of the Temple, with so much Ceremony and Reverence, that the *Spaniards* could not refrain from Laughter, which he did not seem to take Notice of; but turned and looked upon them, as desiring to keep them within Bounds. Here *Hernan Cortes* suffering himself to be transported with the Zeal which burnt

burnt within his Breaſt, addreſſed himſelf to *Motezuma*, and ſaid, *Permit me, Sir, to fix the Croſs of Chriſt before theſe Images of the Devil, and you ſhall ſee whether they deſerve Adoration or Contempt.* At the hearing of this Propoſition, rhe Prieſts grew enraged, and *Motezuma* found himſelf in the greateſt Confuſion and Perplexity; wanting Patience to bear it, and Reſolution to ſhew his Diſpleaſure: But recollecting himſelf, and endeavouring to hide his Reſentments; *You might at leaſt* (ſaid he to the *Spaniards*) *have ſhewed this Place the Reſpect you owe to my Perſon.* On which he immediately went out of the Temple, that they might do the ſame; but ſtopp'd on the Threſhold, and added, with ſomewhat more of Calmneſs, *You may return to your Houſe, my Friends; for I ſhall remain here to ask Pardon of my Gods, for having ſuffered you to proceed thus far.* In this Manner he diſengag'd himſelf from the Perplexity he was in, with few Words, but worthy of Regard; as informing them of his Reſolution, and how hard a Task he found it to command his Temper.

From this, and other Experiments of the ſame Kind, *Cortes* took a Reſolution (with the Advice of Father *Bartholomé de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*) not to talk any more then on the Subject of Religion, which only ſeemed to provoke and harden the Heart of *Motezuma*; but at the ſame Time, they obtained his Leave, to worſhip God in Publick; and he himſelf ſent his Maſter-

Builders to erect a Chapel at his own Expence, according to the Direction of *Cortes*. So much did he desire to be left in the quiet Possession of his Errors! The *Spaniards* presently cleared one of the principal Rooms of the Palace: they white-washed it, and raised an Altar; and in the Front, upon Steps richly adorned, they placed the Image of our Lady, and fixing a large Cross near the Gate, formed a very decent Chapel, where they celebrated Mass every Day, and recited their Rosary, with other Acts of Piety and Devotion: *Motezuma* with his Princes and Ministers were often present; and praised the Humanity of the Christian Sacrifice, without discovering the Barbarity and Abomination of their own. A People blind, and superstitious, who tho' sensible of their Errors, yet suffered Custom to get the better of their Reason!

But before we relate what happened to the *Spaniards* in this Court, 'tis proper to give a Description of *Mexico*, the Magnificence of its Buildings, its Form of Government and Policy, and make some other Observations requisite for the right conceiving and understanding the Events themselves. For tho' such Descriptions interrupt the Narration, they are necessary to the History, as not being foreign to the Argument, nor having any of those Blemishes which make a Digression vicious.

CHAP.

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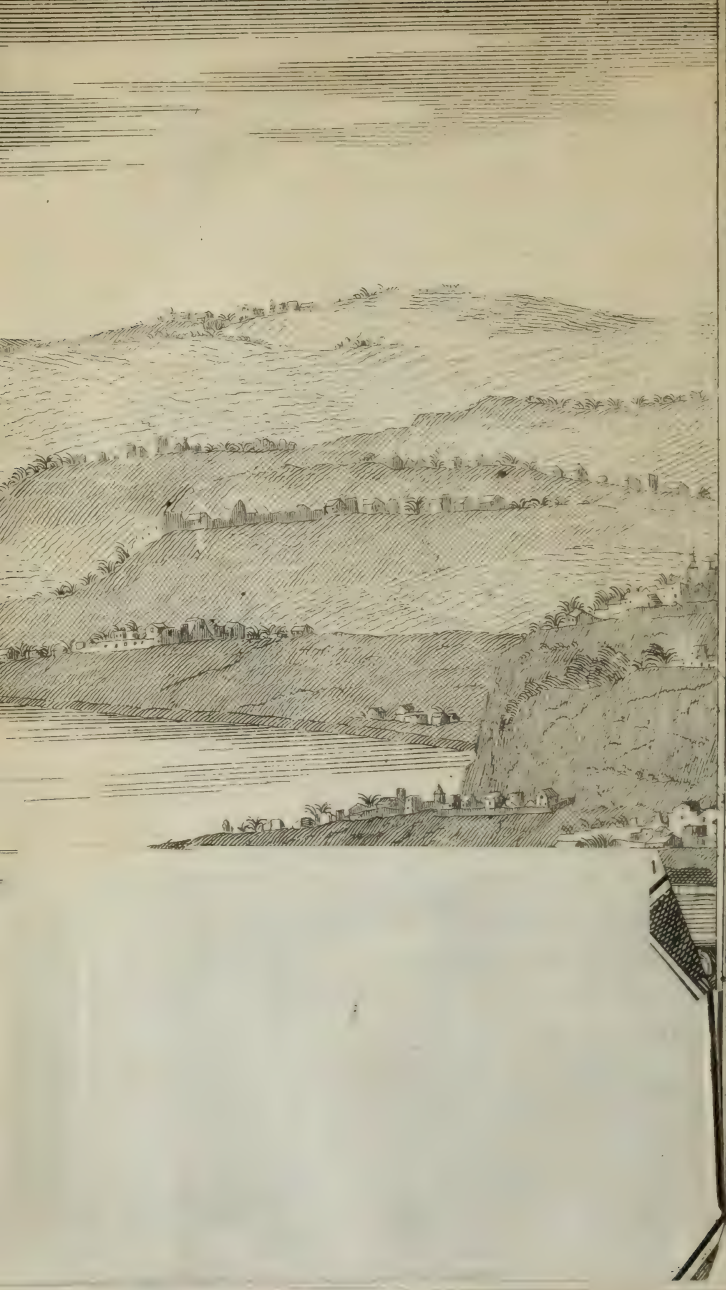
J. Clark sc.



CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A Deſcription of the City of Mexico; *the Temperateneſs of its Climate; its Situation; the Market of* Tlatelulco, *and the great Temple dedicated to the God of War.*

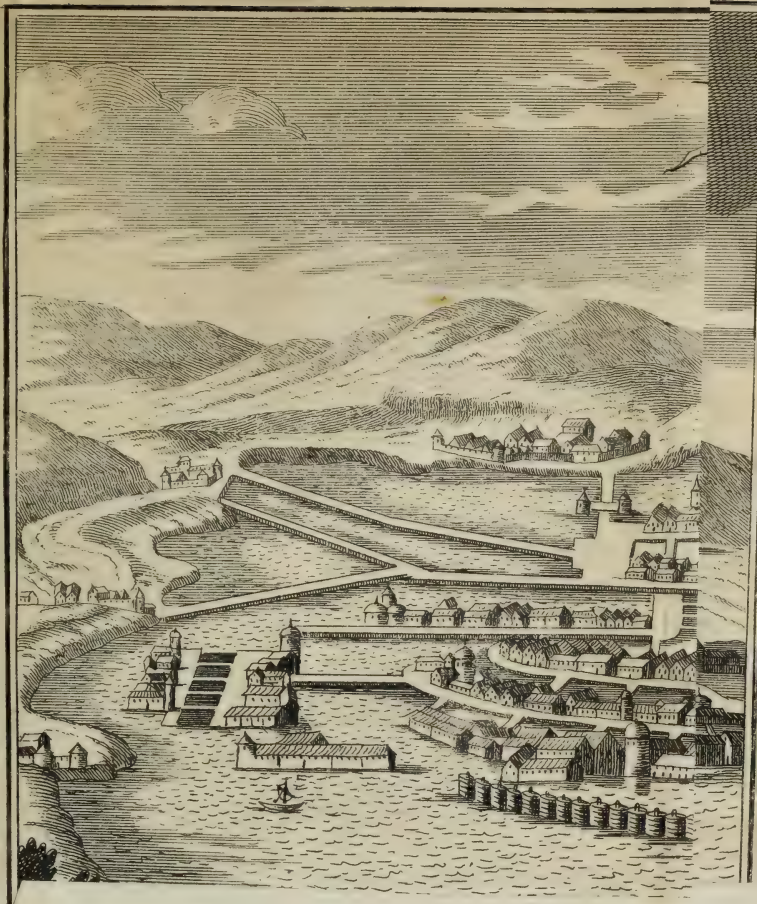
THE great City of *Mexico*, which was anciently known by the Name of *Tenuchtitlan*, or ſome other of a like Sound (a Queſtion canvas'd by Authors to very little Purpoſe) at this Time contained Sixty thouſand Families, and was divided into two Parts; of which one was called *Tlatelulco*, the Habitation of the meaner Sort of People; the other *Mexico*, the Reſidence of the Court and Nobility, and which therefore gave its Name to the whole.

IT was ſituated in a ſpacious Plain, ſurrounded with very high Rocks and Mountains; by whoſe Streams and Rivulets, rolling into the Valley, were formed ſeveral Lakes, and two of a larger Size in the deepeſt Part, where the *Mexicans* had above fifty Towns. This little Sea was about thirty Leagues in Circumference: And the two Lakes which compos'd it, had a Communication thro' a Wall of Stone, which divided them; ſome Openings being left, with Wooden Bridges over them, and Sluices on each Side to ſupply the lower Lake, when there was Occaſion to make good the want

want of Water in one with the Redundance of the other. The uppermoſt was clear ſweet Water, where they had ſome ſorts of Fiſh, of very agreeable Taſte: The lower Lake was ſalt like the Sea; not that the Rivulets that fed it were of different Quality, but it proceeded from the natural Quality of the Soil which received them, and which in this Part is fat and nitrous, but very uſeful for the making of Salt, all along the Borders of the Lake, where the Sun purified and refined the Scum that was left by the beating of the Waves.

In the middle almoſt of this ſalt Water Lake ſtood the City of *Mexico*, in 19 Deg. and 13 Min. *North* Lat. within the *Torrid Zone*, by the ancient Philoſophers imagined uninhabitable, which may inſtruct us by Experience, how little we can rely on human Wiſdom, when the Reaſonings of the Underſtanding are not ſupported by the Evidence of the Senſes. The Climate was mild and healthy, with ſeaſonable Viciſſitudes of Heat and Cold: And the Moiſture, which might have proved unwholſome by the natural Situation of the Place, was corrected by the Favour of the Winds, and qualified by the Benefit of the Sun.

This great City had moſt beautiful Proſpects in the midſt of the Waters, and was joined to the Land by its Dikes, or principal Cauſeways; a ſumptuous Work, of no leſs Ornament than Uſe: One was to the *South* two Leagues long, (by which the *Spaniards* made their Entrance)



that tho' this Square was (according to *Antonio de Herrera*) one of the largeſt in the World,

it

The City of Mexico.
J. Clark sc. 1723.

trance) another one League long looking to the *North*, and the Third ſomewhat leſs, to the *Weſt*. The Streets were all large and ſtraight, as if they were drawn by a Line: Some were of Water, with Bridges, for the Communication of the Inhabitants: Others were of Earth alone, raiſed by Art; and others again were compos'd of Earth and Water, the Earth on each Side for the People to paſs on Foot, and Canals in the Middle for the Canoes and Barks of different Bulk, which ſerved for Commerce and other Conveniencies about the City, and the Number whereof was almoſt incredible: Some ſay, above Fifty Thouſand, without counting little Veſſels, which were called *Acales*, made of the Trunk of a Tree, and capable of holding but one Man.

The publick Buildings and Houſes of the Nobility, which made up the greateſt Part of the City, were of Stone, and well built: The Houſes of the common Sort, low, and unequal; but both the one and the other ſo laid out, that they formed ſeveral Parades, where they expoſed their Merchandize.

Among the reſt, that of *Tlatelulco* was of prodigious Extent and Reſort on the account of its Fairs, held there ſome certain Days of the Year, and frequented by all the Merchants and Traders of the whole Kingdom, with their moſt valuable Fruits and Manufactures: And they flock'd hither in ſuch mighty Numbers, that tho' this Square was (according to *Antonio de Herrera*) one of the largeſt in the World,

it

it was nevertheless filled with Tents, placed in Ranks, and so near together, that there was scarce Room left for the Buyers to pass. All knew their Posts, and secured their Shops with portable Frames, covered with coarse Cotton Cloth, which were Proof both against the Sun and Rain. The *Spanish* Writers make no End of reflecting on the Order, Variety, and Riches of those Fairs: There were Rows of Silversmiths, who sold Jewels, and Chains of extraordinary Fashion; several Figures of Beasts, in Gold and Silver, wrought with so much Art, as rais'd the Wonder of our Artificers: And particularly, some Skillets with moving Handles, that were so cast, and other Pieces of the same Kind, with Moldings and Relievos, without any Signs of a Hammer or Graver. There were also Rows of Painters, with fine Figures and Landskips made of Feathers, so curiously placed, as to give both Colour and Life to the Piece; and in this Kind there were extraordinary Proofs, both of the Patience and Skill of the Workman. They brought to this Fair all the different Sorts of Cloths made throughout this vast Empire, of Cotton and Rabbit Fur, which the Women of this Country (Enemies to Idleness) spun extremely fine, being very dextrous in this Manufacture. They had Drinking-cups exquisitely made of the finest Earth, different in Colour, and even in Smell: And of this Kind they had all Sorts of Vessels necessary, either for the Service or Ornament of a House: For they used no Vessels either

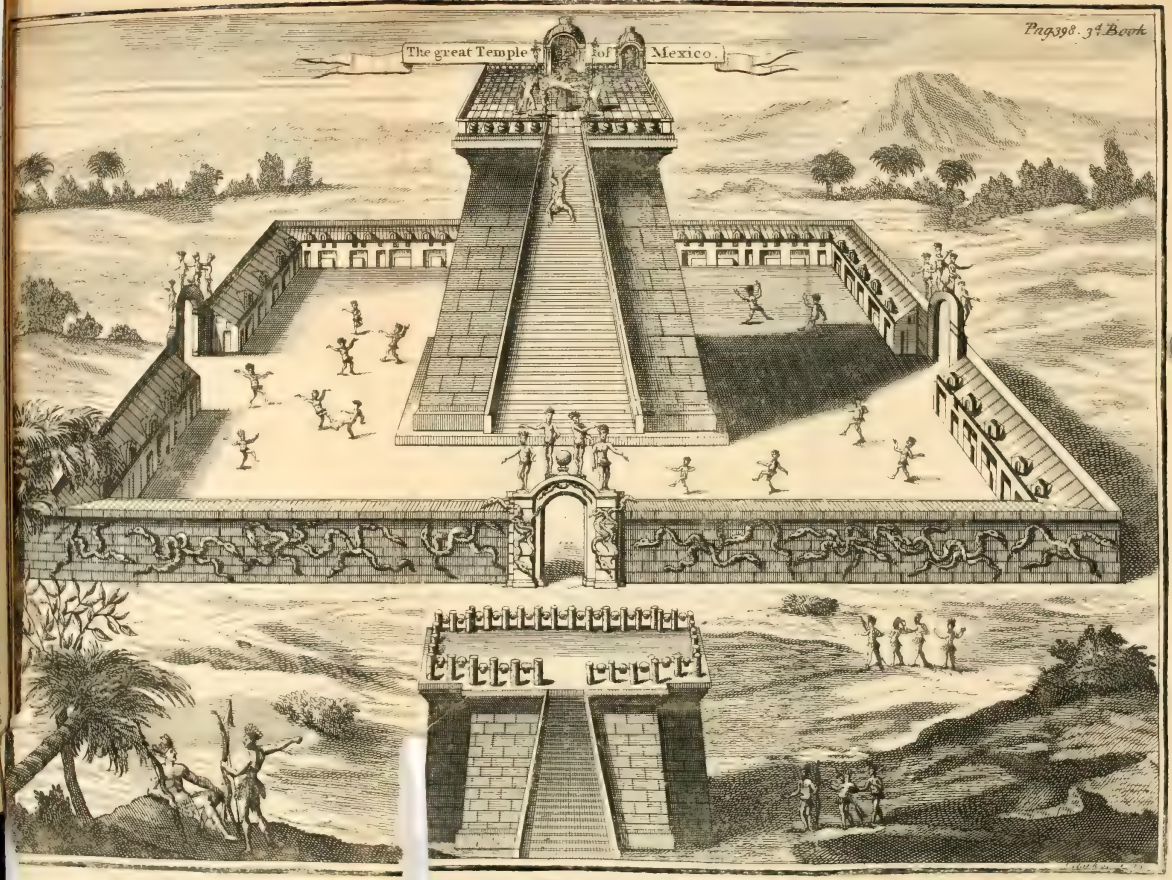
either of Silver or Gold, which were only ſeen at the Royal Table, and that on extraordinary Days. This Fair likewiſe afforded, in the ſame Order and Plenty, all Sorts of Fruit, Fleſh, and Fiſh; and in a Word, every Thing which could contribute to the Pleaſures, or ſupply the Neceſſities of Life.

The Way of Buying and Selling was by bartering one Thing for another: And every one parted with what he had too much of, for what he wanted; and Maiz or Coco ſerved as Money for Things of ſmall Value. They did not know what belonged to Weight; but they had different Meaſures, with which they diſtinguiſhed Quantity: And they had their Numbers and Characters, by which they adjuſted the Prices of Goods, according to the Taxes laid upon them.

They had a Houſe appointed for the Judges of Commerce, before whoſe Tribunal were decided all Differences between the Merchants: There were other inferior Officers, who went about the Fair, to prevent Frauds in Contracts; and made their Report to the principal Tribunal, of all Irregularities of that Sort, which deſerved any kind of Puniſhment. The *Spaniards* were amazed (and with Reaſon) upon the firſt Sight of this Fair, at its Abundance, and Variety, with the good Order and Peace that was preſerved in ſo vaſt a Multitude. A Spectacle worthy of Admiration; as it diſcovered at one View, the Grandeur and good Government of this Empire.

The Temples (if it be lawful to give them that Name) raised their stately Heads above the rest of their Buildings: And the largest, where the chief of those unclean Priests resided, was dedicated to the Idol *Viztzlipuztli*, which signified the God of War, and was held to be the supreme of all their Deities: By the Supremacy of this God, it may be judged, how much they esteem'd the Military Art. The *Spanish* Soldiers called this Idol, *Huchilobos* by a corrupt Pronunciation: And so *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* writes it; making the same Slip with his Pen, as they did with their Tongues. Our Authors very much vary in the Description of this magnificent Edifice. *Antonio de Herrera* follows too closely *Francisco Lopez de Gomara:* Those who saw it at this Time had other Things to mind; and the rest drew the Plan of it according to their Fancies. We shall follow Father *Joseph de Acosta*, and other Authors, who were more exact, and better inform'd.

The first Part of the Building was a great Square, with a Wall of hewn Stone, wrought on the Outside with various Knots of Serpents inter-twisted, which gave a Horror to the Portico, and were not improperly placed there. At a little Distance from the principal Gate was a Place of Worship, not less terrible: It was built of Stone with thirty Steps of the same, which went up to the Top, where was a kind of long flat Roof, and a great many Trunks of well grown Trees, fixed in it, in a Row, with Holes


The great Temple of Mexico.

Holes bored in them at equal Diſtances; and thro' which, from one Tree to another, paſſed ſeveral Bars run thro' the Heads of Men who had been ſacrificed; of whoſe Number (which cannot be repeated without Horror) the Prieſts of the Temple took exact Account, placing others in the Room of thoſe which had been waſted by Time. A lamentable Trophy, in which the Enemy of Mankind diſplayed his Rancour; and which theſe *Barbarians* always had in View, without the leaſt Remorſe! For Inhumanity put on the Mask of Devotion, and Cuſtom had render'd Death in all its Terrors familiar to their Eyes.

The four Sides of the Square had as many Gates opening to the four Winds. Over each of theſe Gates were four Statues of Stone, which ſeemed to point the Way, as if they were deſirous to ſend back ſuch as approached with an ill Diſpoſition of Mind. Theſe were preſum'd to be *Threſhold-Gods*, becauſe they had ſome Reverences paid them at the Entrance. Cloſe to the Inſide of the Wall, were the Habitations of the Prieſts, and of thoſe who, under them, attended the Service of the Temple, with ſome Offices, which altogether took up the whole Circumference, without retrenching ſo much from that vaſt Square, but that Eight or Ten Thouſand Perſons had ſufficient Room to dance in it upon their ſolemn Feſtivals.

In the Centre of this Square ſtood a Pile of Stone, which in the open Air exalted its lofty Head, overlooking all the Towers of the City, gradually

gradually diminiſhing till it form'd a half Pyramid; Three of its Sides were ſmooth, the Fourth had Stairs wrought in the Stone; a ſumptuous Building, and extremely well proportioned: It was ſo high that the Stair-Caſe contain'd a Hundred and Twenty Steps, and of ſo large a Compaſs, that on the Top it terminated in a Flat, Forty Foot ſquare: The Pavement was beautifully laid with Jaſper Stones of all Colours: The Rails, which went round in Nature of a Baluſtrade, were of a Serpentine Form, and both Sides cover'd with Stones reſembling Jet, plac'd in good Order, and join'd with white and red Cement, which was a very great Ornament to the Building.

On the Opening of the Rails, where the Stairs ended, were two Marble Statues, which ſupported, in a Manner that admirably well expreſs'd the Straining of the Arms, two huge Candleſticks of an extraordinary Make. A litttle farther was a green Stone, five Spans high from the Ground, which terminated in an Angle, and whereon they extended on his Back, the miſerable Victim they were about to ſacrifice, and open'd his Breaſt to take out his Heart. Beyond this Stone, fronting the Stair-Caſe, ſtood a Chapel of excellent Workmanſhip and Materials, cover'd with a Roof of precious Timber. Here the Idol was placed on a high Altar, behind Curtains: It was of human Figure, ſitting in a Chair which had ſome Reſemblance of a Throne, ſuſtain'd by a blue Globe, which they call'd Heaven, from the Sides whereof came

came four Rods, with their Ends reſembling the Heads of Serpents, which the Prieſts plac'd upon their Shoulders, when they expoſed their Idol to publick View. It had on its Head a Helm compoſed of Plumes of various Colours, in Form of a Bird, with a Bill and Creſt of burniſh'd Gold: Its Countenance was ſevere and horrible, and ſtill more deform'd with two blue Bands, which bound its Forehead and its Noſe. In the right Hand it held a curling Serpent, which ſerv'd for a Staff, and in the Left four Arrows, which they venerated as a Preſent from Heaven; and a Shield with five white Plumes placed in the Form of a Croſs: And concerning theſe Ornaments, theſe Enſigns and Colours, they related many remarkable Extravagances, with a Serioufneſs deſerving to be pitied.

On the left Hand of this Chapel was another of the ſame Make and Bigneſs, with an Idol called *Tlaloch*, in every Reſpect reſembling his Companion. They were eſteem'd Brothers, and Friends to ſuch a Degree, that they divided between them the Patronage of War, equal in Power, and unanimous in Inclination: For which Reaſon the *Mexicans* addreſſed them both with the ſame Prayers, the ſame Sacrifices, and the ſame Thankſgivings.

The Ornaments of both Chapels were of ineſtimable Value; the Walls were hung, and the Altars cover'd with Jewels, and precious Stones, placed on Feathers of various Colours: And they had eight Temples in the City of

almoſt the ſame Architecture, and of equal Wealth; Thoſe of a ſmaller Size amounted to two Thouſand, and were dedicated to as many Idols, of different Names, Forms, and Attributes. There was ſcarce a Street without its Tutelar Deity; nor was there any Calamity incident to Nature without its Altar, to which they might have Recourſe for a Remedy. In a Word, their Gods were derived from their Fears; nor did they reflect how they leſſen'd the Power of ſome, by what they attributed to others. Thus did the Devil continually enlarge his Dominion, and exerciſe a moſt deplorable Tyranny over Rational Creatures, in the Poſſeſſion of which he remain'd for ſo many Ages, by the incomprehenſible Permiſſion of the moſt High.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the different Pleaſure-Houſes which Motezuma *had for his Recreation: His Armories, Gardens, and Country Retirements; with other remarkable Buildings, both within and without the City.*

BESIDES the principal Palace, before deſcrib'd, where *Motezuma* kept his Court, and that where the *Spaniards* were lodg'd, this Emperor had ſeveral Houſes of Pleaſure which adorn'd the City, and diſplay'd his Grandeur. In one of them, a magnificent Structure,

Structure, with great Galleries, ſupported by Pillars of Jaſper, he had all Sorts of Birds which *New Spain* produc'd of any Value, either for their Feathers, or Singing; in which Diverſity there were ſome very extraordinary, and till then unknown to *Europeans*. The Sea-Fowl were preſerved in Salt Water Pools, and thoſe which were bred in Rivers and Lakes, in others of Freſh Water. It is ſaid they had Birds of five or ſix Colours, which they ſtripp'd of their Feathers in the proper Seaſon, letting them live, that their Owners might again reap the Advantage of the new ones when grown. Theſe were a Merchandize of great Value among the *Mexicans*; for they work'd them in their Cloaths, in Pictures, and in all their Ornaments. Theſe Birds were in ſuch Numbers, and the Care of preſerving them was ſo great, that it gave Employment to above three hundred Men, skilful in the Knowledge of their Diſeaſes, and oblig'd to ſupply them with ſuch Food as they us'd to eat when they were at Liberty.

At a little Diſtance from this Houſe, *Motezuma* had another of greater Extent and Variety, with Apartments capable of receiving himſelf, and his whole Court. There his Huntſmen reſided, and there the Birds of Prey were kept; ſome in Cages neat and well made; and theſe were only to pleaſe the Eye: He had others on Perches, that were obedient to the Jeſſes, and tam'd for the Diverſion of Hawking, for which Sport they have Birds of an excellent

Kind in that Country, like our Hawks, and no way inferior to them for their Docility in returning to their Lure, or for the Vigour with which they ſouſe upon their Prey. Among their Birds in Cages, were ſome ſo extremely fierce and large, that they appeared to be Monſters, and particularly the Royal Eagles, of an extraordinary Size, and prodigious Voracity. An Author reports, that one of theſe Eagles would devour a Sheep at a Meal: He is oblig'd to me, that I do not vouch him by Name, for a Story, which, in my Opinion, he ſwallow'd with too little Difficulty.

In the ſecond Square of the ſame Houſe were the Wild Beaſts, which were either Preſents to *Motezuma*, or taken by his Hunters, in very ſtrong Cages of Timber, rang'd in good Order, and under Cover: Lions, Tygers, Bears, and all others of the ſavage Kind, which *New Spain* produc'd; among which, the greateſt Rarity was the *Mexican* Bull; a wonderful Compoſition of divers Animals: It has a Bunch on its Back like a Camel; its Flanks dry, its Tail large, and its Neck cover'd with Hair like a Lion: It is cloven-footed, its Head armed like that of a Bull, which it reſembles in Fierceneſs, with no leſs Strength and Agility. This Amphitheatre ſeem'd to the *Spaniards* worthy of a great Prince; it being a Cuſtom eſtabliſh'd from all Antiquity, by the Number of Wild Beaſts any Prince has in his Poſſeſſion, to make an Eſtimate of the Grandeur of the Poſſeſſor.

In

In another Part of this Palace, ſay ſome of our *Spaniſh* Writers, they daily fed a horrible Multitude of venomous Animals, preſerv'd in different Veſſels and Caverns, as Vipers, Rattle-Snakes, Scorpions, and even Crocodiles: But they add, that the *Spaniards* were not Eye-Witneſſes of this poiſonous Article of Magnificence, but only ſaw the Places where theſe Creatures were reported to be bred; which is ſufficient Reaſon for me to regard this Part of the Story as improbable; believing rather, that it had no other Foundation than the Opinion of the *Indians*, and that this was a Sort of a Bugbear, invented by the Vulgar, to repreſent the ſavage Diſpoſition of a Tyrant; particularly, when he is obey'd by Conſtraint, and cannot be mention'd without Fear.

Over the Place where the Beaſts were kept, was a very large Apartment for the Reſidence of Buffoons, and other Vermin of the Court, who ſerved for the Diverſion of the King: Even Monſters had a Place in this Set of Men; ſuch as Dwarfs, Crooked, or Hump-back'd, and other Errors of Nature: Every Kind had their ſeparate Habitations, and Maſters apart to inſtruct them; and Perſons employ'd to provide their Meals, and to attend them: And they were ſo punctually ſerv'd, that ſome Fathers, among the poorer Sort, would disfigure their Children for the Sake of that Conveniency, their Deformity being a ſufficient Recommendation to introduce them.

Nor was the Grandeur of *Motezuma* less conspicuous in two Houses for his Arms; one where they were made, and the other where they were laid up in Store. In the first, the several Masters liv'd and work'd, distributed into different Shops, according to their Employments: In one Part they made the Sticks for the Arrows; In another they work'd Flint Stones for the Points: And all Sorts of Arms, offensive and defensive, had Workmen, and distinct Shops, with Overseers, who kept Account, according to their Manner, of the Quantity and Price of the Arms. The other House, which made a better Appearance, served for a Magazine to hold the Arms that were finish'd, every Kind apart: And from thence they were given out to the Armies, and Frontier Towns, as Occasion requir'd. In the highest Part they placed the Arms belonging to the King, which were hung round the Walls in excellent Order: On one Side the Bows, Arrows, and Quivers. with various Embos's'd-work of Gold and precious Stones: On another Two-handed Swords, and others of extraordinary Wood, with flint Edges, and most curious and costly Handles. In another Place the Darts, and missive Weapons were so well rang'd, and so neatly kept, not excepting even the Slings, that the Exactness of their Disposition was admirable. There were Head-Pieces and Breast-Pieces, plated over with curious Leaf-Work of Gold; great Number of Quilted Jackets which were Arrow-proof; beautiful Inventions of Shields or Bucklers

made

made of impenetrable Skins, which cover'd the whole Body, and which they carried roll'd up upon their Left Shoulders, till they were ready to engage. The *Spaniards* greatly wonder'd to behold such a prodigious Quantity of Arms, which appeared to be the Furniture not only of a Prince, but of a Martial Prince; and made an honourable Discovery as well of his Opulency as of his Genius.

To all these Houses he had spacious Gardens, most nicely cultivated. He was no Admirer of Fruit-Trees nor Kitchen Plants in his Gardens of Pleasure: For he used to say, That such kind of Gardens were for the inferior Rank of People; it being his Opinion, That Princes should have Regard to their Pleasure without any Mixture of Profit. There was nothing to be seen but Flowers of delightful Variety and Fragrancy, with Medicinal Herbs, set in Squares, and Summer-Houses where he used to sup. He took a particular Care to transplant into his Gardens all the choice Simples that benign Climate produced, where the only Study of the Physicians was to attain to the Knowledge of their Names and Properties. They had Herbs for all Kinds of Pains and Infirmities; and in the Juices and Application of these Herbs consisted all their Remedies, and with these they effected surprizing Cures, having by long Experience found out their Virtues, and without distinguishing the Cause of the Distemper, applying them to the Patient's great Benefit and Recovery.

The King freely distributed to all who had Occasion for them such of his Simples as were prescrib'd by the Physicians, or desir'd by the Sick; and was wont to inquire if the Patient had received any Benefit therefrom, either gratifying a sort of Vanity he had in the successful Operation of his Medicines, or believing that he fulfill'd the Obligation of a Sovereign, in taking such Care of the Health of his Vassals.

In all these Gardens, and Pleasure-Houses, he had many Fountains of sweet and wholesome Water, convey'd from the neighbouring Mountains by different Canals as far as the Causeys, whence in cover'd Pipes it was introduced into the City, for the Use whereof there were some publick Fountains; and he permitted some of the meaner Sort of People, tho' not without paying a considerable Tribute, to sell about the Streets what Water they brought from other Springs. The Conveniency of Fountains was very much increas'd in the Time of *Motezuma*; for the great Conduit, which conveys a Current of fresh Water to *Mexico* from the Mountain of *Chapultepec*, about a League distant from the City, was a Work of his; and by his Order and Contrivance a vast Cistern of Stone was made for a Reservatory; raising the same to such a Height, as the Declivity for the Current requir'd: After this he gave Orders for a very thick Wall, with two open Canals made of Stone and Lime, of which one was always in Use, whenever the other required cleaning: A Building extremely useful; and

Motezuma

Motezuma valued himſelf ſo much upon the Invention, that he ordered his own Effigies, and that of his Father, which bore a pretty near Reſemblance to his, to be engrav'd on two Stones, with an Ambition to perpetuate his Memory by ſo ſignal a Benefaction done to the City.

Amongst all the Works of *Motezuma*, what ſurpriz'd the *Spaniards* moſt, was that call'd *the Houſe of Sorrow*, to which he was wont to retire on the Death of his Relations, or in caſe of any Calamity, or ill Succeſs, which required publick Demonſtration of Grief. The Building inſpir'd a kind of Horror; the Walls, Roofs, and Ornaments were all black, and had certain Slits in the Wall, or little Windows, which ſcarce gave any Light, or at leaſt no more than was ſufficient to diſcover the Obſcurity. In this diſmal Habitation he uſed to continue till the Time of Mourning was over, and often here the Devil appear'd to him; whether it be that the Prince of Darkneſs took Delight in this Abode of Horror, or for the Sympathy there is between that malignant Spirit and a melancholy Humour.

Without the City he had divers Country Retirements, and Houſes of Pleaſure, with many and large Fountains, which ſupplied the Bagnios and Fiſh-ponds with Water, and near them ſeveral Woods for different Kinds of Game: A Diverſion he frequently us'd, and underſtood well, being very dexterous at his Bow and Arrow; and indeed Hunting was what principally delighted

delighted him; for he was accustom'd to go with his Nobles to a very spacious and pleasant Park, fenc'd round with a Canal of Water, where they brought and inclos'd the Game of the neighbouring Mountains; among which generally came some Lions and Tygers. He had a great Number of Men in *Mexico*, and the Villages round about, whose Business it was to go before, and by forming a great Ring, and contracting it by Degrees, to drive the Game into the appointed Place, not much unlike the Manner of our Huntsmen. These *Mexican Indians* were extremely bold and active in pursuing and overcoming the fiercest Animals, and *Motezuma* took great Delight in beholding the Combats of his Huntsmen with those Creatures, and sometimes he would let fly an Arrow, which was always applauded as a very great Action. But he never quitted his Chair, unless he was upon some commodious Eminence, with good Store of Darts and Arrows by him for the Security of his Person; not that he wanted personal Courage, or was any Thing inferior in Strength or Dexterity to the best of his Subjects; but because he look'd upon those voluntary Hazards as unbecoming his Majesty, believing, and not without a true Sense of his own Dignity, that no Dangers, but those of War, were worthy of a King.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Pomp, Ceremony, and Exactneſs with which Motezuma *was ſerv'd in his Palace: Of the Expences of his Table, of his Audiences, and other Particulars relating to his Oeconomy and Diverſions.*

AGREEABLE to the Statelineſs, Pride and Magnificence of the Buildings, was the Oeconomy of his Houſe, and the Apparel, wherewith he us'd to adorn his Perſon, for the better maintaining the Reverence and Dread of his Vaſſals; to which End he invented new and exceſſive Ceremonies; laying aſide, as a Fault, the great Humanity and Indulgence with which the *Mexican* Kings were wont to treat their Subjects. He augmented, as we have ſaid, in the Beginning of his Reign, the Number, Quality and Splendor of the Royal Family; compoſing it wholly of the Nobility, of greater or leſſer Diſtinction, according to their ſeveral Employments: A Point which was at firſt much oppoſed by his Council, who repreſented to him, That it was by no means proper to diſſatisfy the Common People by intirely excluding them from his Service; notwithſtanding which, he executed what his Vanity ſuggeſted: And it was one of his Maxims, That Princes ought to favour at a Diſtance thoſe who either had no Senſe of a Benefit, or wanted

wanted the Power to return it; and that Plebeian Minds were not fit to enter into the Confidence of a Sovereign.

He had Two Sorts of Guards, the One of Soldiers, so numerous that they fill'd the Courts of the Palace, and were posted in Bodies at the principal Gates: The other of Noblemen, introduc'd also in his Time, consisting of Two Hundred Men, of distinguish'd Quality, who were oblig'd to be every Day at the Palace, both to guard his Royal Person, and to make up the Number of his Courtiers. This Attendance of the Nobility was divided into *Tours*, and every Division had their set Days for entering upon Duty; and the Disposition was such, that it comprehended not only the Nobility of the City, but of the whole Kingdom: And when it was their Turns, they came to Court to discharge this Obligation from the most remote Parts of the Realm. Their Attendance was in the Anti-chambers, and they eat what was left at the King's Table. He us'd to permit some of them to enter into his Chamber, commanding them to be call'd, not so much for any particular Mark of his Favour to them, as to be satisfy'd if they attended, and to keep them all on their Duty. He valu'd himself upon having introduc'd that kind of Guard, and seem'd to have done it with Views of no ordinary Policy: For he us'd to tell his Ministers, that it serv'd to exercise the Obedience of the Nobility, and to keep them in a greater Dependency; besides, it gave him

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an Opportunity of knowing his Subjects, and employing them according to their ſeveral Capacities.

THE *Mexican* Emperors marry'd with Daughters of other Kings their Tributaries: And *Motezuma* had Two Wives of this Quality, who bore the Title of Queens, lodg'd in ſeparate Apartments with equal Splendor and Magnificence. The Number of his Concubines was exorbitant and ſcandalous; for we find it written, that there were more than Three Thouſand Women in the Palace, including the Servants; and every Female of more than ordinary Beauty, that was to be met with throughout his whole Dominions, was brought thither, in order to gratify his luſtful Appetite; for his Miniſters and Taxgatherers forced them from their Friends by Way of Tribute and Vaſſalage, treating the Debauchery of their Prince as a Point of Importance to the State.

THESE Women he, without any Difficulty, got rid of, and provided for them in ſuch Manner, that others might ſupply his Place. They found Husbands among thoſe of the beſt Quality; for they left the Court very rich, and, in the common Opinion, highly honour'd: So far were Chaſtity and Decency from being counted Virtues in a Religion which did not only permit, but even command the utmoſt Violence to natural Reaſon. He affected very much to have his Concubines lead a retir'd Life, and keep a ſtrict Decorum in his Houſe; and

and for that Purpoſe he had ancient Matrons, who narrowly obſerv'd the Behaviour of his Miſtreſſes, without permitting the leaſt Indecency to be acted amongſt them; not that he ſet any Value upon Modeſty, but becauſe Jealouſy was his predominant Paſſion. And this Care with which he endeavour'd to maintain a ſtrict Decorum in his Family (in itſelf ſo reaſonable and praiſe-worthy) was in him a Weakneſs without any Mixture of true Honour or Generoſity, but purely the Effect of his other Paſſion.

His Audiences were neither eaſily obtain'd, nor very frequent, but they laſted long; and upon theſe Occaſions he appear'd with great Splendor and Solemnity. The Great Men who had Admiſſion into the Royal Apartment, aſſiſted at them, with Six or Seven Counſellors of State to adviſe him in Caſe any Point of Difficulty was ſtarted. And there were ſeveral Secretaries, who marked in Characters, which ſerv'd them inſtead of Letters, the Reſolutions and Decrees, every one according to his reſpective Employment. The Perſon who obtain'd Audience enter'd barefoot, and made three Reverences, without lifting his Eyes from the Ground: Saying at the firſt, Lord! at the ſecond, My Lord! and at the third, Great Lord! He ſpoke in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive Terms, and retir'd in the ſame Manner he advanc'd; repeating his Reverences, never turning his Back, and keeping his Eyes fix'd on the Ground; for there were certain Officers by, who

who severely punish'd the least Omission, and *Motezuma* was extremely rigorous in exacting those Ceremonies: A Care by no means blameable in Princes, for therein consists one of those Prerogatives which distinguish them from other Men; and the Delicacies of Royalty infuse into the Subject an awful Dread, very essential in its Effects. He listen'd with Attention, and answer'd with Severity, seeming to proportion his Voice to his Look. If any one was at a Loss in his Delivery, he endeavour'd to recover him, or order'd one of his Ministers to assist him, that he might speak with more Assurance. And to such a Man he would give a more favourable Dispatch, as finding in that respectful Fear, a Sort of an agreeable Discretion which flatter'd his Vanity. He valued himself much for the Gentleness and Humanity with which he suffer'd the Impertinencies of Petitioners, and the unaccountable Difference of their several Pretensions: The Truth is, upon these Occasions, he endeavour'd to correct the Impetuosity of his Temper; but it was not always that he could gain that Point: For the Violence he us'd would often give Way to his natural Bent, and indeed Pride under a Restraint but ill resembles Goodness.

He eat alone, and very often in publick; but always with equal State and Solemnity. His Table was ordinarily cover'd with above Two Hundred Dishes, of different Meats adapted to his Palate, and some of those so savoury

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and exquisitely well season'd, that they not only pleas'd the *Spaniards* then, but have since been imitated in *Spain*; for there is no Nation so barbarous, but that it can boast of some Ingenuity, and has some Invention or other to gratify an inordinate Appetite.

Before he sat down to Meat, he look'd over all the Dishes, to examine the different Dainties they contain'd; and having satisfy'd the Gluttony of his Eyes, he made Choice of those which pleas'd him most, and order'd the rest to be divided amongst the Nobles of his Guard. And this daily Profusion was but a small Part of the ordinary Expence of his Kitchen, for he kept Tables for all who liv'd in his Palace, and for as many others as were oblig'd to resort thither by Virtue of their Employments. His Table was large, but low, and he sat on a little Stool proportionable to the Table. The Cloths were of fine white Cotton, and the Napkins of the same, nothing near so broad as long. The Room where he eat was divided in the Middle by a Rail, which, without obstructing the Sight, kept the Crowd and his Domesticks at Distance.

Within the Rails, and near the Table waited Three or Four ancient Servants, of those he most favour'd: And near the Rails, one of his principal Officers receiv'd the Dishes, which were brought by about Twenty Women magnificiently apparel'd, who serv'd his Meat and gave him the Cup, with the same Reverence us'd to their Idols in the Temples. The

Dishes

Diſhes were of exceeding fine Earthen Ware, and were only us'd once, as were likewiſe the Table-Cloths, and Napkins, which were immediately divided amongſt the Servants. He had Cups of Gold, and Salvers of the ſame; and ſometimes he drank out of Cocoas, and natural Shells, very richly ſet with Jewels.

They had continually ready at Hand different Sorts of Liquors, which he call'd for as he fancy'd; ſome were finely perfum'd with the richeſt Odours, others mix'd with the Juices of ſalutiferous Herbs, nor did he ever want Confections of a leſs honeſt Quality, I mean Provocatives to Venery. He made moderate Uſe of Wine (or, more properly ſpeaking, Beer,) a Liquor which the *Indians* make by infuſing *Maiz* in boiling Water, and which diſturbs the Brain as much as the ſtrongeſt-bodied Wines: When he had done eating, he uſually took a Kind of Chocolate, made after the Manner of the Country, that is, the Subſtance of the Nut beat up with the Mill till the Cup was fill'd more with Froth than with Liquor; after which he us'd to ſmoak Tobacco perfum'd with liquid Amber. And this vicious Habit paſs'd for a Medicine with the *Indians*, which withal had ſomewhat in it of Superſtition; for the Juice of this Herb was one of the Ingredients with which the Prieſts were work'd up into Madneſs and Fury, as often as they were oblig'd to prepare themſelves, by loſing their Underſtanding, to receive the Devil's Oracles.

He had generally attending at his Table, Three or Four select Buffoons, who, among that Sort of Vermin, were most remarkable for their Pranks; and these endeavour'd to divert him in a Manner agreeable to Persons of their Character, who centre their whole Felicity in having the faculty to make others laugh; but too often cover their Want of Respect to their Company under Pretence of entertaining them. *Motezuma* us'd to say, That he suffer'd them near his Person only because they sometimes told him Truth: But he who seeks Truth among them discovers but little Relish of it, except he confounds it with Flattery. However, this was a Sentence taken Notice of among the rest of his good Sayings: And it is so far remarkable, that even a barbarous Prince was sensible of his Fault in admitting them, since he endeavour'd at a Reason to justify his so doing.

After some little Repose his Musicians were wont to come in to divert him; and with a Sort of Flutes and Sea-Shells, notwithstanding the Difference of their Sounds, they form'd a Kind of Concert. They sung several Compositions, in various Sorts of Metre, which, tho' unequal in their Measures, had somewhat like Cadence, varying the Tones, not without some Method, into a Musick adapted to their Ear. The ordinary Themes of the Songs were the Exploits of their Ancestors, and the memorable Actions of their Kings; and these were sung in their Temples, and the Children learn'd

learn'd them by Heart, to preſerve the Atchievements of the Nation from Oblivion, theſe Songs ſerving as a Hiſtory to thoſe who did not underſtand the Pictures and Hieroglyphicks of their Annals. They had likewiſe their merry Songs us'd in Dances, and accompanied with a ſtrange confus'd Sort of Muſick. They were ſo much addicted to this Kind of Diverſion, and other Spectacles and Entertainments in which they ſucceeded very well, that they had almoſt every Night publick Feſtivals in ſome Quarter or other of the City, as well of the Nobility, as of the Common People; and now they were more frequent, and celebrated with greater Solemnity, to compliment the *Spaniards*; *Motezuma* himſelf not only encouraging, but even aſſiſting at them in Perſon, contrary to his accuſtom'd Auſterity; as being ambitious, that theſe idle Diverſions ſhould, among the reſt of his Oſtentation, contribute to diſplay his Grandeur, and the Magnificence of his Court.

The moſt remarkable of their Sports was a Dance they call'd *Mitotes*, compos'd of a prodigious Multitude of People, ſome of whom were moſt gorgeouſly attir'd, and others diſguis'd under very extraordinary Figures. In this Dance the Nobles enter'd without any Diſtinction, mingling with the meaner Sort, to honour that Feſtival; nor were Examples wanting of their Kings having done the like. Their Muſick conſiſted of Two little Drums, made of a hollow Piece of Wood, different in Big-

neſs and Sound; Baſe and Treble, and not without ſome Kind of Harmony. They enter'd Two and Two, and after certain Movements and Figures, they form'd a Ring, all beating the Earth at once with their Feet, and keeping Time with their Hands, without ever being out; and when one Chorus was tir'd, another ſucceeded, with different Steps and Motions, like the *Tripudia* and *Chorus* celebrated by Antiquity; and in Concluſion they mingled all together with confus'd Shouts of Joy, until by drinking to each others Healths, they were intoxicated with their heady Liquor, in which they indulg'd themſelves; for they thought it an Honour to drink plentifully upon that Occaſion, and then the Feaſt either was at an End, or converted to ſome other more extravagant Folly.

At other Times the People aſſembled in the principal Squares, or in the Porches of their Temples, for the Diverſion of ſeveral Shews and Games. There were Challenges to ſhoot at a Mark, or to give other Proofs of ſurprizing Dexterity in managing the Bow and Arrow. They us'd to run Races, and wreſtle for Wagers, and publick Rewards were given to the Conqueror. Some of them were extremely active, and would dance on the Rope without a Pole; and others again would dance after a moſt amazing Manner, with another of theſe Rope-dancers upon their Shoulders. They play'd likewiſe at Ball, divided into equal Numbers againſt each other, with a Kind of Bandy,

Bandy, which rais'd very high the Ball, which now and then was a long while in the Air to and fro, till ſome one of the Parties ſtruck it to the Mark, and thereby carry'd the Prize. The Victory was diſputed with ſo much Solemnity, that the Prieſts, with a ridiculous Superſtition, produc'd the *God of the Ball*, and placing him in Sight, conjur'd the Puppet, with certain Ceremonies, to correct the Hazards of the Play according to their fond Imagination, and to render Fortune impartial to both Sides. There were very few Days in which they had not ſome Sort or other of theſe Diverſions in the City, and *Motezuma* was pleas'd with amuſing the People in this Manner; not that he was ſo very fond of theſe Paſtimes himſelf, or that he was ignorant of the Inconveniencies, which muſt be forgiven or overlook'd in a diſorderly Multitude; but he judg'd it neceſſary to divert thoſe turbulent unquiet Spirits whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected. A miſerable Capitulation of a Tyrant with his Subjects, to indulge them in thoſe Incitements to Vice that they may not reflect on their Miſery; and a more wretched Slavery of Tyranny, to be oblig'd to permit ſuch Irregularities, in order to introduce Slavery under the Mask of Liberty.

CHAP. XVI.

An Account of Motezuma's *immenſe Riches; the Manner of his managing the Royal Revenues, and of his adminiſtring Juſtice; with other Particulars of the* Mexican *Government, both Civil and Military.*

SO great was the Wealth of *Motezuma*, that he was not only able to ſupport the ordinary Expences and Diverſions of his Court, but to maintain conſtantly Two or Three Armies in the Field, either to ſubdue his rebellious Subjects, or cover his Frontiers; and after all, there ſtill remain'd a conſiderable Reſerve in his Treaſury. Exceeding great Profit did the Crown receive from the Mines of Gold and Silver, the Salt-Works, and other Rights eſtabliſh'd from Time immemorial: But the largeſt Fund of the Royal Revenue, was from the Contributions of the Subject, which were moſt exorbitantly increas'd in the Reign of *Motezuma*. All the Husbandmen of this vaſt and populous Empire gave to the King one Third of the Produce of their Land and Stocks; the Tradeſmen one Third of their Manufactures; and the poor People were oblig'd to work for the Court without Wages, or to acknowledge their Vaſſalage by ſome other perſonal Service.

SEVERAL Officers took their Circuits round the Kingdom, who, being aſſiſted by the ordinary

nary Magiſtrates, receiv'd and remitted the Tributes. Theſe Officers depended on the Tribunal of the Royal Revenue reſiding in the Court, and were oblig'd to give an exact Account of the minuteſt Matter which their Diſtricts produc'd; and the leaſt Fraud or Neglect was puniſh'd with loſs of Life; from whence enſued abundance of Rigour in exacting the Dues of the Crown; for Favour or Compaſſion in a Collector was deem'd a Crime of as heinous a Nature as Theft itſelf.

GREAT were the Clamours of the People, nor was *Motezuma* ignorant of their Diſcontent; but the Oppreſſion of his Vaſſals was one of the chief Maxims of his Government. And he would frequently ſay, That he was no Stranger to their evil Diſpoſition, and was obliged to load them for his own Quiet; and that he ſhould not be able to govern them, if he ſuffered them to grow rich; being ſtill very ready at inventing Pretences and Colours which carried a Shew of Reaſon. All the Towns near the City furniſhed Men for the King's Works, provided Fuel for the Royal Palace, or contributed otherways at the Expence of their Communities.

THE Tribute of the Nobility was to guard the Emperor's Perſon, or ſerve in his Armies with a certain Number of their Vaſſals; beſides which, they were continually making him Preſents, which, tho' he received them as Gifts, it was ſtill without quitting his Pretences to them as Dues. He had different Treaſurers,

according to the several Kinds of Contributions: and the Tribunal of the Crown Revenue, issued out all that was necessary for the Expence of the Royal Houses, and Provisions of War, and took Care to make the best Advantage of the Overplus, by reducing it into something that would not decay, in order to preserve it in the principal Treasury, and particularly into Ingots of Gold, whose Value they well understood and esteem'd, without suffering the Plenty of it to make it less valuable: On the contrary, the Great Men sought after it, and hoarded it, either for the Excellency and Beauty of the Metal, or because it was design'd by Destiny rather to satisfy the covetous Desires, than relieve the Necessities of Mankind.

The *Mexican* Government discovered a remarkable Harmony between the Parts that compos'd it. Besides the Council of the Revenue, which took Care, as we have said, of the Royal Patrimony, they had a Council of Justice which received Appeals from inferior Tribunals; a Council of War for the forming of Armies and Military Provisions; and a Council of State, which was generally held in the Presence of the King, and treated Matters of the greatest Importance. They likewise had a sufficient Number of Judges of Commerce, and other different Officers; as Provosts of the King's Court, who went their Rounds about the City to take up Delinquents. These Officers, as did likewise the *Alguaziles*, or Lieutenants,

tenants, carry'd a Staff in their Hands as a Mark of Diſtinction, that their Office might be known. They held their Tribunal in a certain Part of the Town, where they heard the Parties, and immediately determin'd the Cauſe. Their Judgments were ſummary and verbal; both Sides appeared with their Claims and Witneſſes, and the Cauſe was preſently decided, except it happened to be a Caſe of Appeal to a ſuperior Tribunal. They had no written Laws, but were governed according to the Inſtitutions of their Anceſtors; Cuſtom upon all Occaſions ſupplying the want of Laws, where the Pleaſure of the Prince did not interpoſe to make Innovations. All theſe Councils were compoſed of Men experienced both in War and Peace; and the Council of State, which was ſuperior to all the reſt, was form'd of the Electors of the Empire, which was a Dignity conferr'd upon the antient Princes of the Royal Blood: And when Matters of great Conſequence were to be diſcuſs'd, they ſummon'd to the Council the Kings of *Tezcuco* and *Tacuba*, who were principal Electors, and had this Prerogative by Succeſſion. The Four chief Counſellors always reſided in the Palace, and attended near the King's Perſon, to declare their Opinions upon whatever offer'd, and to give his Decrees the greater Authority among the People.

Rewards and puniſhments were diſpenſed with equal Care. Murther, Theft, Adultery, or any light Diſreſpect towards the King, or their

their Religion, were Capital Crimes. All other Misdemeanours were easily pardon'd; for their very Religion itself disarm'd Justice by tolerating Vice. Corruption in the Ministers was also punish'd with Loss of Life, and no Crime was look'd upon as Venial in those who served in publick Employments: This Custom *Motezuma* observed with the utmost Rigour, having People of special Trust to examine into their Conduct, and even to offer them Bribes; and he who was found deficient in any Part of his Duty was infallibly punish'd with Death: A Severity worthy of a less barbarous Prince, and a more civiliz'd Commonwealth. However, it cannot be deny'd, but that the *Mexicans* had some Moral Virtues, and particularly, that they administer'd, with great Integrity, that Kind of Justice with which they were acquainted, and which was sufficient to redress Injuries, and maintain Society among Fellow Citizens: For, notwithstanding their Abuses and Beastialities, they preserved some Knowledge of that primitive Equity which Nature bestow'd on Men, when as yet they had no Laws, because they were ignorant of Crimes.

One of the most laudable Articles of their Policy was the Education of Children, and the great Application with which they examin'd and form'd their Inclinations. They had publick Schools for the Instruction of the *Plebeians*, and Colleges, and other considerable Seminaries, well endow'd, where the Sons of the Nobility

Nobility were educated from their very Infancy, and where they continued till they were in a Capacity to make their Fortunes, or follow their Inclinations. They had their reſpective Maſters for Infants, Children, and Youths, who had the Authority of the King's Miniſters, and were reputed as ſuch; and not without Reaſon, as they took Care of thoſe Rudiments and Exerciſes which afterward fitted Men for the Service of the Common-wealth. They taught them to decypher thoſe Characters and Figures of which they compos'd their Writings; and they made them learn by Heart their hiſtorical Songs which contained the Actions of their Anceſtors, and the Praiſes of their Gods. From hence they went to another Claſs, where they were taught Modeſty, Civility, and even a gentile Behaviour, according to ſome Authors. Theſe ſecond Maſters, or Tutors, were of greater Reputation and Abilities than the firſt; for it lay upon them to contend with the Inclinations of Youth, which loves not to be corrected, nor to have its Paſſions broke.

Being arrived to ſome Degree of Knowledge, and brought up in this Sort of Subjection, they paſs'd on to the Third Claſs, where they employ'd themſelves in more robuſt Exerciſes: They try'd their Strength in carrying Weights, and in Wreſtling: They vied with each other in Leaping and Running: They were taught how to manage their Arms, uſe the two-handed Sword, throw the Dart, and, with Force and Exactneſs, to ſhoot the Arrow. Then they were

were made to suffer Hunger and Thirst, and resist the Inclemencies of the Weather, till they returned to their Father's Houses well instructed and inur'd to Hardships, to be engag'd, according to the Information the Masters gave of their Inclinations and Capacities, either in the Employments of Peace, War, or Religion; Three Paths where Noblemen had to chuse, almost equal in Repute, tho' that of War had the Precedence, as carrying them to a higher Degree of Honour.

They had also other Colleges of Matrons dedicated to the Worship of their Gods, for the Educating of young Women of Quality; who were there plac'd from their Childhood under the Direction of these Women, and confined very strictly, till they went out to be settled in the World, with the Approbation of their Parents, and Licence of the Emperor; having arriv'd at a Perfection in every Occupation suitable to their Sex.

The Sons of Nobles, (at parting from those Seminaries) who were inclined to War, pass'd another Trial worthy of Consideration; for their Fathers sent them to the Armies that they might become acquainted with the Hardships of a Campaign, and know what it was that they undertook before they enrolled themselves in the Service: And they used to place them among the common Baggage-Men, with a Load of Provision on their Shoulders, to mortify their Vanity, and to inure them to Fatigue.

None

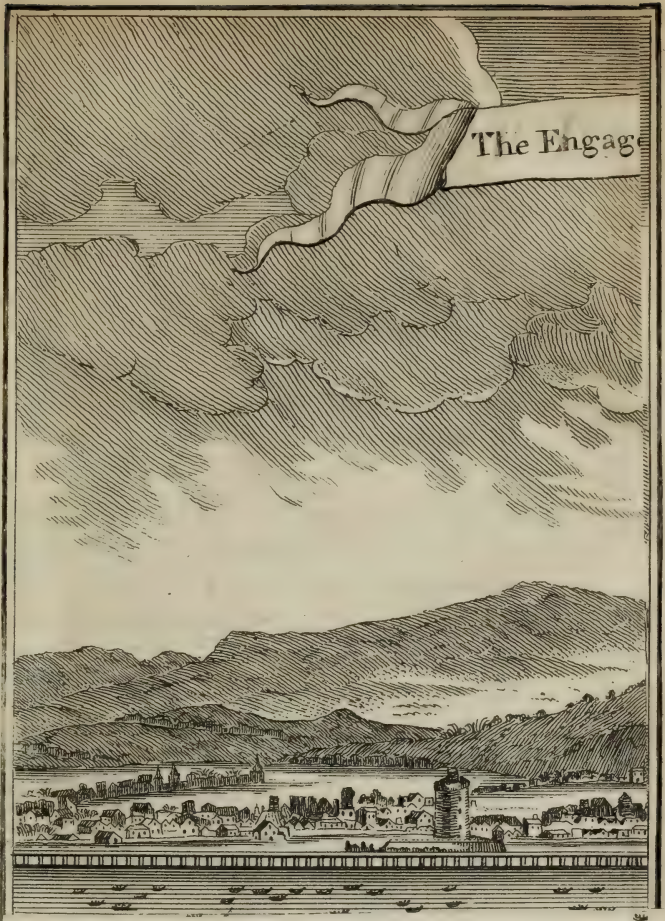
None were admitted to this Profeſſion who changed Countenance at the Sight of an Enemy, or who did not give ſome Proofs of his Valour; ſo that theſe Novices did great Service in the Time of their Probation: For every one was deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by ſome particular Action, throwing himſelf headlong into the greateſt Dangers; being perſuaded, that in order to their being rank'd with valiant Men, ſome Temerity was neceſſary for laying the Foundation of Fame.

In nothing did the *Mexicans* place their Felicity ſo much, as in Military Exploits; for their Kings regarded the Profeſſion of War as the principal Foundation of their Power, and the Subjects, as a Virtue peculiar to their Nation. It was by this, that *Plebeians* roſe to the Degree of Nobles, and Nobles to the greateſt Employments of the Empire; which animated all to the Service: Or at leaſt, all thoſe aſpir'd to Military Virtue, who were born with Ambition, or had Spirit enough to riſe above their Sphere. Every Town had a regulated *Militia*, with certain Privileges and Immunities which diſtinguiſhed the Soldiers from the reſt of the Inhabitants. Their Armies were formed with Eaſe; for the Princes of the Empire, and *Caziques*, or Governors of Provinces were obliged to repair to the Place of Arms appointed them with their *Quota* of Men: And it is eſteemed a mighty Inſtance of the Grandeur of the *Mexican* Empire, that *Motezuma* had Thirty Vaſſals ſo powerful, that each could bring into the

the Field a Hundred Thousand armed Men. These commanded their respective Armies in Person, under the Authority of a Captain-General, whose Orders they obey'd, as representing the Person of the Emperor, when he was not himself in the Field; which rarely happened: for those Princes esteemed it as a lessening of their Authority to be absent from their Armies, and thought it very impolitick to trust their Force in the Hands of another.

THEIR Manner of engaging was the same which we have described in the Battle of *Tabasco*; but their Troops were better disciplin'd, and the Soldiers more obedient: They had more Nobles to head them, and greater Hopes of Reward. They quickly discharged their missive Arms to make Use of their Swords, and very often of their Hands; for it was reckoned a greater Action to make a Captive, than to kill an Enemy; and he was accounted the bravest Man who brought most Prisoners to the Sacrifice. The Military Employments were much esteemed, and well supported; for *Motezuma* rewarded with great Liberality those who distinguished themselves in Battle, and had himself so martial a Genius, and was so zealous for the Reputation of his Arms, that he invented honourable Rewards for the Nobles who served in the Wars; instituting certain Military Orders, with their peculiar Habits and Marks, which gave both Honour and Distinction. Some were called Knights of the *Eagle*, others of the *Tyger*, and a third of the *Lyon*,

and


The Engag

The Engagemt. between ye Spanish Brigantines and the Canoes of the Mexicans.

and they bore the Device of their Order either painted on their Robe, or hanging to it. He founded alſo another Order of Knighthood ſuperior to theſe, to which only Princes were admitted, or Nobles deſcended from a Royal Line: And to add thereto the greater Honour, he took the Habit himſelf. Theſe Knights had Part of their Hair bound with a Red Ribband, and among the Plumes which adorned the Head, Taſſels of the ſame Colour, which hung down upon the Shoulders, more or leſs, according to the Actions of the *Cavaliers*, which were known by the Number of Taſſels, which were augmented with great Solemnity, as they ſignaliz'd themſelves by new Exploits; ſo that there was always Room to increaſe this Dignity by ſome freſh Atchievement in War.

We cannot but commend in the *Mexicans* the generous Ardour with which they aſpired to theſe honourable Rewards, and in *Motezuma* the Merit of inventing them: For as this is Money the moſt eaſily coin'd, ſo it holds the firſt Rank among the Treaſures of a Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

An Account how the Mexicans *meaſur'd and computed their Months and Years. Their Feſtivals, Marriages, with other Rites and Cuſtoms worthy of Remark.*

THE *Mexicans* had diſpos'd and regulated their Kalendar after a very notable Method. They adjuſted it by the Motion of the Sun, making his Altitude and Declination the Meaſure of Times and Seaſons. They allow'd their Year Three Hundred Sixty Five Days, as we do, but they divided them into Eighteen Months, aſſigning to each Month Twenty Days, which made Three Hundred and Sixty; the other Five, which were a Kind of Intercalary Days, they added at the End of the Year, to make it anſwer the Courſe of the Sun. During theſe Five Days (which they believ'd were left purpoſely by their Anceſtors as Days of Vacation) they gave themſelves up wholly to Idleneſs, and only ſtudy'd how to loſe that Overplus of Time. Tradeſmen left off Work, and ſhut up their Shops; the Buſineſs of the Tribunals ceas'd, and the very Sacrifices in their Temples: They viſited each other, and all People endeavour'd to entertain themſelves with Variety of Diverſions, ſignifying that by this Intermiſſion they were preparing themſelves anew for the Works and Labours of the enſuing

ſuing Year, whoſe Beginning they plac'd on the Firſt Day of the Spring, differing from the Solar Year, according to the Computation of Aſtrologers, only Three Days, which they took from our Month of *February*.

They had alſo their Weeks, of Thirteen Days, with different Names, which they mark'd in their Kalendar by Images. Their Ages conſiſted of Four Weeks of Years; the Method and Diſtribution of which were very artful and notable, and carefully preſerv'd for a Memorial of all that happen'd. They made a great Circle, which they divided into Fifty-two Degrees, allowing a Year for every Degree. In the Centre they painted the Effigies of the Sun, from whoſe Rays proceeded Four Lines of different Colours, which equally divided the Circumference, leaving Thirteen Degrees to each Semidiameter; and theſe Diviſions ſerv'd as Signs of their *Zodiack*, upon which their Ages had their Revolutions, and the Sun his Aſpects, proſperous or adverſe, according to the Colour of the Line. In a larger Circle, incloſing the other, they mark'd, with their Figures and Characters, the Accidents of the Age, and all Occurrences which had happen'd worthy of Memory. And theſe ſecular Maps were as publick Inſtruments, which ſerv'd for a Proof of their Hiſtory. It may be reckon'd among the wiſeſt Inſtitutions of their Government, that they had Hiſtoriographers capable of handing down to Poſterity, the Exploits of their Nation.

They had a Mixture of Superstition in the Computation of their Ages; for they were taught, that the World was in Danger of Destruction, when the Sun had finish'd the Revolution of those Four greater Weeks; and when the last Day of the Fifty-two Years was come, all the People prepar'd themselves for that dreadful and ultimate Calamity. They took Leave of the Light with Tears, and expected Death without any previous Sickness: They broke their Houshold Vessels, as unnecessary Lumber; they extinguish'd their Fires, walking about all the Night like distracted People, without daring to take any Rest, till they knew whether they were to be for ever consign'd to the Regions of Darkness. But upon the Dawning of the Day, they began to recover their Spirits, with their Eyes fix'd towards the East; and at the first Appearance of the Sun, they saluted him with all their Musical Instruments, with Hymns, and Songs which express'd their confus'd Joy: Then they congratulated each other upon their being secure of the World's Duration for another Age, immediately crowded to their Temples to render Thanks to their Gods, and to receive from the Priests new Fire, which they kept burning with the greatest Violence before the Altars, being constantly fed with dry Wood. Next they made anew all Provision for their necessary Subsistence, and this Day was celebrated with publick Rejoicings, and the Dancing and other Diversions were dedicated thro' the whole City

to

to the Renewal of Time, much after the ſame Manner wherewith *Rome* celebrated her *Secular Games*.

THEIR Emperors receiv'd the Crown upon Conditions very particular: For the Election being made after the Manner already obſerv'd, the new King was oblig'd to take the Field with the Forces of the Empire, and obtain ſome Victory over his Enemies, or ſubdue ſome Rebels, or ſome neighbouring Province, before he was crown'd, or permitted to aſcend the Royal Throne. A Cuſtom worthy of Obſervation, and the chief Means by which this Monarchy roſe to ſuch a Height in ſo few Years. So ſoon as the victorious Prince was found to be qualify'd for the Regal Dignity by the Succeſs of his Enterprize, he return'd triumphantly to the City, and made his publick Entry with great State and Solemnity: All the Nobility, Miniſters, and Prieſts, accompany'd him to the Temple of the God of War, where he alighted from his Chair, and after having offer'd the cuſtomary Sacrifices, the Electoral Princes cloath'd him in Royal Robes, arming his Right-Hand with a Sword of Gold, edg'd with Flint, the Enſign of Juſtice; and his Left with a Bow and Arrows, ſignifying his Power and Command in War: Then the King of *Tezcuco* plac'd the Crown upon his Head, by a Privilege belonging to him as Firſt Elector.

AFTER this, one of the moſt eloquent Magiſtrates made a long Harangue, wiſhing him Joy of the Dignity, in the Name of the whole

Empire; and added some Documents, representing the Troubles and Cares that attend a Crown, with the Obligations he lay under to regard the Publick Good of his Kingdoms; recommending to him the Imitation of his Ancestors. This Speech being ended, the Chief of the Priests approach'd him with great Reverence, and from his Hand the King took an Oath, with Circumstances very observable. First, he swore to maintain the Religion of his Ancestors: That he would observe the Laws and Customs of the Empire: That he would treat his Vassals with Lenity: That during his Reign they should have seasonable Rains: That no Inundations of Rivers, Sterility of Soil, or malignant Influences of the Sun should happen. A notable Compact between a King and his Vassals, and ridicul'd by *Justus Lipsius!* But we may venture to say, that by this Oath, they endeavour'd to oblige him to reign with such Moderation, that he might not by any Action of his own, draw down the Indignation of Heaven; as not being ignorant that these Kinds of Chastisements, and publick Calamities, fall sometimes on the Subjects for the Sins and Exorbitances of the Prince.

For the rest of the Rites and Customs of this Nation, we shall only touch on those which deserve a Place in History, omitting their Superstitions, Indecencies, and Obscenities, which would defile the Narration, tho' told without Offence to Truth.

Amidst

Amidst ſuch a Multitude of Gods, as we have before obſerv'd, and ſuch Obſcurity and Blindneſs in their Idolatry, they ſtill acknowledg'd a Superior Deity, to whom they attributed the Creation of the Heavens, and the Earth: And this Original of all Things was, amongſt the *Mexicans*, a God without a Name, there being no Word in their Language whereby to expreſs him. They only ſignify'd that they knew him, by looking up towards Heaven with Veneration, and giving him, after their Way, the Attribute of Ineffable, with the ſame religious Uncertainty with which the *Athenians* worſhip'd the *Unknown God*. But this Knowledge of the firſt Cauſe which, in Appearance, ſhould have facilitated their being undeceiv'd, was of little Uſe upon that Occaſion; for it was impoſſible to make them believe that this ſame Deity could govern the whole Univerſe without the Aſſiſtance of other Gods, tho' in their Apprehenſion he had the Power to create it; and they were perſuaded, that there were not any Gods in the other Parts of Heaven, till Men began to become miſerable in Proportion as they multiplied; looking on the Gods as favourable *Genii*, who were produc'd when there was Occaſion for them; without being in the leaſt ſhock'd at the Abſurdity of ſuppoſing them to owe their Being and Divinity to the Miſeries of human Nature.

They believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, with eternal Rewards and Puniſhments in a

future State; little underſtanding at the ſame time the Nature of Virtue and Vice: And this Truth was obſcur'd with other Errors; for they buried great Quantities of Gold and Silver with their Dead, to bear the Expences of their Journey, which they believ'd to be both long and troubleſome. They put to Death ſome of their Servants to accompany them; and it was a common thing for Wives to celebrate the Exequies of their Husbands with their own Death. Princes were oblig'd to have Monuments of a vaſt Extent; for the greateſt Part of their Riches and Family were interr'd with them; both the one and the other in Proportion to their Dignity and Grandeur. The whole Number of Houſhold Officers were oblig'd to accompany the Prince into the other World, together with ſome Flatterers among them, who at that Time ſuffer'd for the Deceit of their Profeſſion. The Bodies were carry'd with great Pomp and Solemnity to the Temples, from whence their Prieſts came forth to receive them, with their Copper Cenſers, ſinging to the Sound of hoarſe and ill-tun'd Flutes, Hymns and Funeral Elegies, in a diſmal melancholy Tone. They often rais'd up on high the Bier, during the voluntary Sacrifice of thoſe miſerable Wretches, who had devoted both Bodies and Souls to Slavery. A Ceremony of remarkable Variety, compos'd of ridiculous Abuſes, and deplorable Barbarities!

Their Marriages bore the Form of Contracts, with ſome religious Ceremonies. The preliminary Articles being all agreed upon, the Couple appear'd in the Temple, and one of the Prieſts examin'd their Inclinations by certain ceremonial Queſtions, appointed by Law for that Purpoſe: After that he took the Tip of the Woman's Veil with one Hand, and one Corner of the Husband's Garment in the other, tying the ſame together at the Ends, to ſignify the interior Tye of their Affections. Under this Sort of Nuptial Yoke, they return'd to their Habitation, accompany'd by the ſame Prieſt, where imitating the Superſtition of the *Romans* with regard to their *Dii Lares*, or Houſhold Gods, they paid a Viſit to the Domeſtick Fire, which they believ'd to be concern'd in the Union between the married Pair: They went round it Seven times, following the Prieſt; after which they ſat down to receive their equal Share of the Heat, and then the Marriage was thought to be accompliſh'd. They regiſter'd in a publick Inſtrument, the Portion brought by the Bride, every Part whereof the Husband was oblig'd to reſtore, in caſe they parted, which very frequently happen'd; for mutual Conſent was judg'd a ſufficient Cauſe for a Divorce: A Caſe in which the Law never interfer'd, but left it to the Parties concern'd, who beſt knew each other, to be their own Judges. The Girls remain'd with the Mother, and the Boys went with the Father; but when once the Marriage was thus

diſſolv'd, it was inevitable Death for them to come together again: So that notwithſtanding the natural Inconſtancy of that fickle Nation, the Danger of attempting to have any Cohabitation after a Divorce was no ſmall Check upon them, and prevented many a Couple from parting. They were very careful of the Virtue and Conduct of their Wives, as a Point in which their Honour was nearly concern'd; and amidſt that boundleſs Licentiouſneſs and Liberty with which they indulg'd their ſenſual Appetites, they abhorr'd and puniſh'd Adultery with the utmoſt Rigour; not ſo much upon Account of the Atrocity of the Vice, as for the Inconveniencies which attended it.

THEIR new-born Infants were carry'd to the Temples with Solemnity, and the Prieſts receiv'd them with certain Admonitions, concerning the Troubles to which they were born. If they were the Sons of Nobles, they put a Sword into the Child's Right-Hand, and upon his Left Arm a Shield, kept in the Temple for that Purpoſe. If of Plebeian Extraction, they put into their Hands mechanical Inſtruments; and the Females of both Degrees had only the Diſtaff and Spindle, ſignifying to each the Kind of Employment which Deſtiny had prepar'd for them. This Firſt Ceremony being over, they were brought up to the Altar, and there with a Thorn of *Maguey*, or a Lancet of Flint, they drew ſome Drops of Blood from the Privy-Parts; after which they either ſprinkled them

them with Water, or dipp'd them into it, uſing at the ſame Time certain Invocations. In which Ceremony it ſhould ſeem that the Devil, the Inventer of theſe Rites, was ambitious to imitate Baptiſm and Circumciſion, with the ſame Pride with which he endeavour'd to counterfeit the other Ceremonies, and even the Sacraments of the Catholick Church; ſince he introduc'd among theſe Barbarians the Confeſſion of Sins, giving them to underſtand, that thereby they obtain'd the Favour of their Gods. He inſtituted likewiſe a ridiculous Sort of Communion, which the Prieſts adminiſtred upon certain Days in the Year, dividing into ſmall Bits an Idol made of Flour, mix'd up into Paſt with Honey, which they call'd *The God of Penitence.* They had likewiſe Jubilees, Proceſſions, Offerings of Incenſe, and other Forms of Divine Worſhip: Nay, they even gave their Chief Prieſts the Title of *Popes* in their Language; by which we find, that this Imitation coſt Satan a very particular Study and Application, whether with a Deſign to abuſe and prophane the Sacred Myſteries and Ceremonies, by mingling them with his Abominations, or that he cannot yet repent of his Ambition, but is ſtill aſpiring and affecting to imitate the Moſt High.

The reſt of the Rites and Ceremonies of theſe miſerable Heathens were ſhocking and horrible, both to Reaſon and Nature: Beſtialities, and incongruous, ſtupid Abſurdities, which ſeem'd altogether incompatible with the Regularity

Regularity and admirable Oeconomy which was obſerved in the other Parts of that Government; and would ſcarce be believ'd, were not Hiſtories full of Examples of the like Weakneſſes and Errors of Human Capacities in other Nations, who are no leſs blind, tho' in Parts of the World where they have the Means of being more enlighten'd. Sacrifices of Human Blood began much about the ſame Time with Idolatry; and many Ages ago the Devil introduc'd them amongſt thoſe Nations, from whom the *Iſraelites* learn'd to ſacrifice their Sons to the Idols of *Canaan*. The horrible and deteſtable Cuſtom of Mens eating each other, has been ſeen practiſed many Ages ſince amongſt other barbarous People of our Hemiſphere, as *Galatia* confeſſes in her Antiquities, and *Scythia* in her *Anthropophagi*. Logs of Wood worſhip'd for Deities, ſuperſtitious Auguries, the furious Agitations of Prieſts, their Communication with the Devil by his Oracles, and other Abſurdities equally abominable, have been admitted, and reverenced by other Gentiles, who were otherwiſe endowed with great Senſe, and were perfectly well skill'd in Morality and Politicks. *Greece* and *Rome* wanted the Knowledge of the true Religion, tho' in every Thing elſe they gave Laws to the whole World, and left edifying Examples to Poſterity. From all this we are oblig'd to confeſs the Deficiency and the ſmall Extent of human Wiſdom, which reaches but a very little farther than the ſuperficial Knowledge it receives from the Senſes

and

and Experience, whenever that reveal'd Light, by which we diſcover the very Eſſence of Truth itſelf, is wanting. The *Mexican* Religion was therefore no other than a deteſtable Compound of all the Errors and Abominations, which had been received among the Gentiles in the different Parts of the World.

We ſhall not enter into the Detail of their particular Feſtivals and Sacrifices, their Ceremonies, Sorceries, and Superſtitions; not only becauſe we meet them at every Step, with tedious Repetitions, in all the Hiſtories of the *Indies*, but becauſe it is our Opinion we cannot be too cautious how we give our Pen too large a Scope upon a Subject of this Nature; and at the beſt, we look upon it as an unneceſſary Leſſon, as affording the Reader little Pleaſure, and much leſs Profit.

CHAP. XVIII.

Motezuma *continues his Entertainments and Preſents to the* Spaniards. *Letters brought from* Vera-Cruz *with an Account of the Battle wherein* Juan de Eſcalante *loſt his Life: Upon which* Cortes *reſolves to ſecure the Perſon of* Motezuma.

THE *Spaniards* obſerved all theſe Novelties not without great Admiration, tho' they endeavour'd to conceal and diſſemble their Surprize; and it coſt them ſome Pains

to

to compose their Countenances upon these Occasions, that they might maintain the Superiority they affected over those People. The first Days were taken up in various Pastimes and Diversions. The *Mexicans* gave splendid and ostentatious Proofs of their Abilities, with a Desire of entertaining their Guests, and not without an Ambition of displaying their Dexterity in the Management of their Arms, and their Activity in all their other Exercises. *Motezuma* encourag'd those Shews and Entertainments, laying aside all Majesty, contrary to his accustom'd Pride and Reservedness. Upon all Occasions he took *Cortes*, attended by his Captains, along with him, and treated him with a Deference and Respect full of Humanity, which appeared prodigious in one of his Character, and occasioned those who knew him to have the greater Esteem for the *Spaniards*. Their Visits were frequent and punctual; *Cortes* went to the Palace, and *Motezuma* to the *Spanish* Quarters. The Emperor was continually admiring every Thing that came from *Spain*, believing it to be a Part of Heaven; and so high an Idea he had of the King, that it exceeded the Conceptions he entertain'd of his Gods. He was ever endeavouring to gain the Affection of the *Spaniards*, by distributing Curiosities and Jewels amongst the Captains and Soldiers, not without Discernment and Distinction of Merit; for he caress'd most of the Officers of Distinction, and knew how to proportion the Gift to the Importance of the Person

Person whom he design'd to oblige. The Nobility, in Imitation of their King, were ambitious to render themselves agreeable to all the Strangers, by treating them with a Respect that savour'd of Submission: As for the Populace, they bent their Knees to the meanest of the *Spanish* Soldiers. In this Manner they enjoy'd an agreeable Repose, with something continually new to divert, and nothing to disturb them. But they were not long without Occasion of Disquiet; for about this Time there came two *Tlascalan* Soldiers to the City through By-ways, disguised in the Habits of *Mexicans*, who going privately to *Cortes*, gave him a Letter from *Vera-Cruz*, which chang'd the Face of Affairs, and forc'd him upon Resolutions less pacifick.

JUAN DE ESCALANTE, who, as we have said before, had the Government of the New Colony, was employ'd in continuing his Fortifications, and preserving his Correspondence with those *Indian* Friends whom *Cortes* had left him; and remain'd in this State of Tranquility without any Accident, till he received Advice, that one of *Motezuma*'s Generals was marching up and down in that Province with a considerable Army, committing Hostilities upon some Towns with which he had settled an Alliance, which depending upon the Protection of the *Spaniards*, refused to pay their accustom'd Tribute. This General's Name was *Qualpopoca*, and commanded all the Forces that were cantoned upon the Frontiers of *Zempoala*; and having assembled them to support the

the Commiſſaries appointed to gather the Tax, he committed great Diſorders, Extortions, and Violences upon thoſe People, accompanying the Rigour of the Officers with the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiery; both the one and the other, a Sort of People inſatiably greedy, who commonly call pillaging the Subject, ſerving the Prince.

The *Totonaques*, who inhabited the hilly Country, and whoſe Dwellings thoſe Troops were then deſtroying, were the firſt who complained. They beſeeched *Juan de Eſcalante* to take up Arms in Defence of his Confederates, and offered to aſſiſt in the Undertaking with their whole remaining Strength. He comforted them with the Aſſurance that he reſented their Injuries as done to himſelf: But before he would proceed to Extremities, he reſolved to ſend Meſſengers to the *Mexican* General, deſiring him, in a friendly Manner, "That he would ſuſpend his Hoſtility, until "ſuch Time as he ſhould receive freſh Orders "from the Emperor, ſince it was not poſſible "for him to have authoriz'd a Proceeding of "that Kind, when he had admitted to his "Court Ambaſſadors from the Eaſtern Mon-"arch, to ſet on Foot a Treaty of Peace and "Confederacy between the two Crowns." This Meſſage was carried by two *Zempoalans*, Men of good Addreſs, reſiding in *Vera-Cruz*; and the Anſwer of the *Mexican* was inſolent and injurious: "That he was very well able "to comprehend and execute the Orders of his

" his Prince; and if any one ſhould pretend " to divert him from the Chaſtiſement of thoſe " Rebels, he likewiſe knew how to maintain " in the Field what he had undertaken."

JUAN DE ESCALANTE could not diſſemble his Reſentment; nor was it fit for him to refuſe the Challenge in the View of thoſe *Indians*, who were intereſted in the Succeſs of the *Totonaques*, who ran the ſame Riſque, and had put themſelves under the ſame Protection: Wherefore having inform'd himſelf that the Groſs of the Enemies Body did not exceed four thouſand Men, he immediately aſſembled two thouſand *Indians*, the greateſt Part of whom were *Totonaques* of the hilly Country; who being either ſuch as had fled before *Qualpopoca*, or, irritated by his Violences, came to ſhelter themſelves under *Eſcalante*'s Protection; at the Head of which Number, well appointed after their Manner, and forty *Spaniards*, two of them arm'd with Arquibuſes, and three with Croſs-Bows, and with two Pieces of Artillery, he began his March towards thoſe Towns which wanted his Aſſiſtance, leaving *Vera-Cruz* but weakly garriſon'd.

QUALPOPOCA had Notice of his Motions, and advanc'd to receive him, with all his Troops in exceeding good Order, near a ſmall Village, ſince call'd *Almeria*. A little after Day-break both Armies came in Sight of each other, and engag'd with equal Reſolution; but in a little while the *Mexicans* gave Way, and began to retire

retire in great Disorder. It happen'd at the same Time, that the *Totonaques* of our Party, either not being inur'd to War, or, from the accustom'd Dread they had of the *Mexicans*, were dispirited, and lagg'd behind, till at last they betook themselves to Flight, and could not be prevail'd to rally, either by Persuasion, Compulsion, or Example: A rare Accident, which must be reckon'd among the unaccountable Events which happen in War, when the Conquerors fly from the Conquered! The Enemy fled with Precipitation and Dread, and were so careful of their own Safety, that they did not observe how much our Troops were diminish'd, but only did what they could, in a disorderly Manner, to retire to the next Town, whither *Juan de Escalante* pursued them, with little more than his forty *Spaniards*; and immediately commanding the Place to be fired in different Parts, attack'd them at the same Time with so much Resolution, that, without giving them Leisure to discover the Smallness of his Numbers, he broke, and intirely dislodg'd them, obliging them to turn their Backs and disperse themselves in the Woods. The *Indians*, after the Action was over, affirm'd that they saw in the Air a Woman, resembling her whom the Strangers worship'd for the Mother of their God, who dazzled and astonish'd them in such a Manner, that she depriv'd them of Strength or Power to stand their Ground. This Miracle did not manifest itself to the *Spaniards*, but the Success they met with made it

it credible; and the Soldiers were now all accuſtom'd to ſhare with Heaven the Glory of their Exploits.

This was a very ſignal Victory, but it coſt the *Spaniards* dear; for *Juan de Eſcalante* was mortally wounded, with ſeven other Soldiers, of which Number the *Indians* carry'd off *Juan de Arguillo*, a Native of *Leon*, a Man of an extraordinary Stature, and very great Strength, who fell, valiantly fighting, at a Time when he could not be ſuccour'd: The reſt all died of their Wounds at *Vera-Cruz*, within three Days.

Of this Loſs, with all its Circumſtances, the Council of *Vera-Cruz* ſent *Cortes* an Account, that he might name a Succeſſor to *Juan de Eſcalante*, and be appriz'd of the Poſture of his Affairs in thoſe Parts. *Cortes* read the Letter, with the Concern that ſuch a Piece of ill News requir'd. He communicated the ſame to his Captains, and without entering at that Time into all its Conſequences, or diſcovering the Whole of his Chagrin, he deſir'd them to reflect upon this Accident, and to give him Time for the forming ſuch a Reſolution as it ſhould pleaſe God to inſpire, recommending very particularly to Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* to contribute to it by his Prayers, and to all in general to keep the News ſecret, that a Diſaſter of ſuch Importance might not come to the Ears of the Soldiers, and be made a Subject of common Diſcourſe.

He afterwards retir'd to his own Apartment, and began to reflect on all the Inconveniencies which might reſult from this Misfortune. He thought on ſeveral Expedients, and rejected them again: The Force of his Fancy even tir'd him with Variety, at once repreſenting to him the Remedies and Difficulties attending them. Authors report, that he walk'd about a great Part of the Night, and by mere Accident diſcover'd at that Time a Place newly plaiſter'd up, in which *Motezuma* conceal'd the Treaſures of his Father; and that after he had view'd them, he order'd the Place to be ſtopp'd up again, without ſuffering any thing to be taken away. I ſhall not dwell upon the Diverſion which this Diſcovery might give to his Uneaſineſs, ſince it appears that it laſted not long, but ſoon gave Way to that Application of Thought, which ended in a ſteady Reſolution to take thoſe Meaſures which I am going to relate.

He ſent privately for the moſt ſenſible and beſt affected *Indians* of his Army, of whom he demanded, "If they had obſerved any Al-"teration in the Minds of the *Mexicans*, and "in what Eſteem the *Spaniards* were at the "preſent among them?" They anſwer'd, "That the common People were taken up "with their Feſtivals made for the Diverſion "of the *Spaniards*, whom they reverenc'd, "becauſe they ſaw them honoured by their "Emperor: But that the Nobility ſeem'd pen-

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" ſive and myſterious; that they had ſecret " Conferences, the Reſult of which they kept " very private." They ſaid, they had obſerv'd ſome Expreſſions which admitted a ſiniſter Interpretation; one of which was, *That it would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges of the Cauſey*, with others of the ſame Kind, which all together gave ſufficient Cauſe of Suſpicion. Two or three of thoſe *Indians* heard it whiſper'd, that ſome few Days before, a *Spaniard*'s Head was brought as a Preſent to *Motezuma*; and that he commanded it to be taken away and conceal'd, after he had view'd it with ſome Aſtoniſhment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face of a fierce Aſpect, Marks which agreed very well with that of *Juan de Arguillo*. This redoubled the Uneaſineſs of *Cortes*; forhence it appear'd, that *Motezuma* was privy to the Proceedings of his General.

Upon theſe Advices, and the Reflections he afterwards made thereupon, he ſhut himſelf up the next Morning with his Captains, and ſome principal Soldiers, who, upon Account of their Merit or Experience, were wont to aſſiſt at the *Juntas*, where he laid the Caſe, with all its Circumſtances, before them, and acquainted them what Information he had receiv'd the Night before from his truſty *Indians*, weighing with great Sedateneſs of Temper, the Danger with which they were threaten'd: He touch'd with great Addreſs upon the Difficulties which

might occur; and then, without shewing which Way his own Sentiment inclin'd, he was silent, and gave them free Liberty to discuss the Affair.

They were of different Opinions: Some were for desiring *Motezuma*'s Passport, and marching immediately to the Relief of *Vera-Cruz:* Others found great Difficulties in the Retreat, and were for going off privately, without forgetting the Riches they had acquir'd. But the greatest Part were of Opinion, that they should continue in *Mexico*, without seeming to have any Knowledge of what had pass'd at *Vera-Cruz*, till they could find some Means to retreat with Safety. But *Cortes*, recapitulating the several Propofals had been made, and highly commending the Zeal with which they had all endeavour'd to hit the Point, delivered himself thus:

I can by no means agree to that Proposition of desiring a Passport from Motezuma; *for after having open'd the Way to his Court with our Arms, in Spite of all Opposition, we must unavoidably sink very low in the Opinion of the* Mexicans, *when once it shall be known, that we stand in Need of their Favour to retire. If* Motezuma *has ill Designs against us, he may grant the Passport, with no other View than to destroy us in our Retreat; and if he should deny it, then we shall be obliged to march out by Force, and expose ourselves*

to

to a certain Danger, after having declared our Weakneſs. Much leſs am I of Opinion, that we ſhould offer to retreat by Stealth, for by ſo doing, we ſhall at once brand ourſelves with the infamous Epithet of Fugitives, and Motezuma *can, with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable, poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes, by ſending Scouts before to give Notice of our March. And in ſhort, in my Opinion, it is by no Means convenient at this Juncture, even to think of retiring; for after what Manner ſoever we attempt it, it will infallibly be at the Expence of our Reputation; and having once loſt our Friends and Confederates, whom that and nothing elſe engages on our Side, we ſhall aſſuredly find ourſelves without one Foot of Ground to tread upon with any Security. For theſe Conſiderations, I conclude, that they come neareſt to the Point who vote for our continuing here, without taking Notice of any thing till we can go off with Honour, and for trying in the mean while what may happen agreeable to that Hope. Both Reſolutions, it is true, are equally hazardous, but not equally honourable; and it would be a Misfortune, unworthy of* Spaniards, *to chuſe to die a diſhonourable Death, when they have it in their Option, to do the contrary. I make no Queſtion but that it is neceſſary for us to ſtand our Ground where we are; the Manner how we ſhall effect it is what moſt employs my Thoughts. We are acquainted with the Rumours which*

begin to spread among the Mexicans. *The Disgrace which has befallen us at* Vera-Cruz *deserves your serious Reflections; and* Arguillo's *Head presented to* Motezuma, *is a plain Indication, that he was no Stranger to the Expedition of his General; nay, his very Silence upon that Article, is a sufficient Reason for us to suspect his Intentions. Therefore upon considering the Whole, I am of Opinion, that in order to maintain ourselves in this City with least Hazard, it will be expedient to resolve upon some great Action, that may give the* Indians *fresh Cause of Astonishment, and regain what Reputation we have lost in their Esteem by these unfortunate Accidents. To which End, (after having weigh'd other Projects, which would make more Noise than they would produce Effect) I hold it absolutely necessary to seize the Person of* Motezuma, *and bring him Prisoner to our Quarters. A Resolution which I cannot help thinking will strike Terror into them, and must needs keep them within Bounds, and at the same Time will give us an Opportunity of capitulating after such a Manner both with the King and his Vassals, as may be most for the Honour of our Sovereign, and the common Security. The Pretence of his Imprisonment, according to my Judgment, must be the Death of* Arguillo, *to which he was privy, and the Breach of the Peace by one of his Generals; with which two Offences we must give him*

to

to underſtand we have been acquainted, and for which we demand Satisfaction: For it would be to our Diſadvantage to ſeem ignorant of any Thing which they themſelves underſtand; when they believe us ſuperior to them in every reſpect, and ignorant of nothing. Theſe and ſuch other Errors of their Imaginations we muſt encourage, or at leaſt bear with, as extremely favourable to our bold Undertaking. I am very ſenſible of the Difficulties and Accidents which attend ſo daring an Enterprize; but great Actions have their Birth from great Dangers; and God will certainly ſupport us, for many are the Wonders (I may venture to ſay, the evident Miracles) which he hath wrought for us in this Expedition; and why ſhould we not now believe, that this Perſeverance of ours is the Effect of his divine Inſpiration? His Service is the principal Motive of our Enterprize; and I cannot be perſuaded, that he has conducted us thus far by his extraordinary Providence, to plunge us into unſurmountable Difficulties, and in our greateſt Neceſſity to abandon us to our own Weakneſs.

He enlarg'd with ſo much Energy upon this pious Conſideration, that he communicated to the whole Council the Vigour of his own Spirit, and brought them over to his Opinion; firſt the Captains, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, *Diego de Ordaz*, with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*,

and then all the rest applauded the judicious Arguments of their General, and judg'd the Goodness of the Remedy, by the heroick Gallantry of the Resolution. Upon this Foot the *Junta* broke up, having resolv'd upon the Imprisonment of *Motezuma*, and leaving the Management of the Whole to the Discretion of *Cortes*.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who loses no Opportunity of introducing himself as the Author of all great Resolutions, affirms, that he, and some other Soldiers, advis'd the Imprisonment of *Motezuma*, some Days before they had received any Intelligence of what had happen'd at *Vera-Cruz:* But other Relations do not agree with his, nor was there Occasion, at that Juncture, to enter upon a Project of so violent a Nature. He should have kept himself within Bounds a little longer, and then his Advice would not have appear'd so improbable, and so much out of Season.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The Impriſonment of Motezuma: *An Account after what Manner it was effected, and how receiv'd amongſt his Vaſſals.*

IT muſt be acknowledg'd, that this Reſolution of a few *Spaniards*, to ſeize ſo powerful a Prince in his own Court, amidſt all his Guards, was a Boldneſs without Example. The Recital of this Action, tho' true, ſeems wholly incompatible with the Sincerity of Hiſtory, and even in a Romance would ſurpaſs the Exaggerations and the Licence of Fable itſelf. It might have been call'd Temerity, had it been undertaken ſpontaneouſly, and with a greater Liberty of Choice: But a Man is not properly term'd raſh, who ſhuts his Eyes to a Danger which he cannot avoid. *Cortes* ſaw himſelf equally loſt if he made a Retreat, which would ruin his Reputation, or ſtood his Ground without retrieving his fading Honour by ſome extraordinary Exploit. The Mind, when it finds itſelf ſurrounded on all Sides with Difficulties, violently flies to that which leaſt preſſes it; but the Method taken by *Cortes*, was in Truth the moſt difficult; whether he was reſolv'd to end this Affair, one Way or other, at a Blow, or becauſe he could not accommodate himſelf to Meaſures of a middle Nature.

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We may say, that it was great Magnanimity in him to elevate his Views so high, or that Military Prudence is not such an Enemy to Extremes as Civil: But better it is, that this Resolution of his should pass without a Name, or that, only regarding the Success, we place it among those imperceptible Means which God made Use of in this Conquest; excluding, in Appearance, all natural Causes or Impulses.

The Hour when the *Spaniards* were accustom'd to wait upon *Motezuma* was chosen for the Execution of their Design, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unseasonable Visit. *Cortes* gave Orders to his Men to arm themselves in their Quarters, to saddle their Horses, and to hold themselves in a Readiness, without making any Noise or Movement till they receiv'd fresh Instructions. He possess'd himself of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to *Motezuma*'s Palace, with small scatter'd Detachments of Soldiers, and went to the Palace, accompany'd by the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Alonso Davila*, having order'd Thirty private Men of his own chusing to follow at a Distance.

It was no surprizing Sight to see them enter with their Arms, which they usually carry'd as a Military Ornament. *Motezuma*, as customary, came out of his Apartment to receive the

the Viſit, and they all took their Seats. His Servants, as by his Order they were always accuſtom'd to do, retir'd to another Part of the Palace; and when *Donna Marina* and *Geronimo Aguilar* were come up, *Cortes* began his Complaint with a becoming Reſentment. Firſt he laid before *Motezuma* the Action of his General, who had the Inſolence to form an Army, and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace, and Royal Safeguard, under which they thought themſelves ſecure. Then he urg'd as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the ſpilling the Blood of a *Spaniard* by the *Mexicans*, after they had made him Priſoner, to revenge upon him, in cold Blood, the Ignominy of their own ſhameful Defeat. And laſtly, he expos'd in proper Colours, as a Point of ſtill greater Conſideration, the Excuſe made by *Qualpopoca*, and his Captains, who declar'd they had undertaken that unjuſtifiable War by the Emperor's expreſs Order: Concluding, That he thought he ow'd ſo much to his Majeſty, as not to give Credit to an Action ſo unworthy of his Greatneſs, as that of favouring the *Spaniards* in one Place, while he was endeavouring to deſtroy them in another.

MOTEZUMA chang'd Colour at the hearing of this Charge; and with all the Marks of Conviction interrupted *Cortes*, denying, as well as he could, that he had ever given any ſuch Orders: But *Cortes* reliev'd his Confuſion

sion by saying, " That he did believe it to be " undoubtedly true, and was fully convinc'd, " that he had no Hand in so base an Action; " but that the *Spaniards* would not be so sa- " tisfied, nor even his own Vassals be unde- " ceiv'd after such a Declaration of his Ge- " neral, unless they saw him give some extra- " ordinary Proof of what he affirm'd, that " might intirely efface the Impression of such " a Calumny; and that therefore he was come " to intreat him, that, without making any " Disturbance, but as if it was his own spon- " taneous Choice, he would immediately go " with him to the *Spanish* Quarters, with a Re- " solution not to stir from thence till it should " be made apparent to all, that he had not " been concern'd in so perfidious an Action." To which Purpose he represented to him, " That by this generous Confidence, so well " becoming a Princely Mind, he would not " only appease the just Resentment of the great " Monarch whose Servant he was, and the " Jealousy of his Companions and Followers; " but that it would redound to his own Ho- " nour, which at present suffer'd a great Eclipse; " giving his Word, both as a Gentleman, and " a Minister to the most powerful Monarch in " the Universe, that he should be treated " amongst the *Spaniards* with all the Respect " due to his Royal Character; since they only " desir'd to be secure of his good Will, that " they might have it in their Power to serve

" and

" and obey him with the greater Veneration." Here *Cortes* left off ſpeaking, and *Motezuma* likewiſe remain'd ſilent for ſome Moments, as amaz'd at the Boldneſs of the Propoſal. But *Cortes*, deſirous to reduce him by Gentleneſs, before he would determine on other Ways, added, " That the Quarters he had been pleas'd " to aſſign them, were in one of his Majeſty's " own Royal Palaces, where ſometimes he was " wont to paſs a few Days: That it could not " ſeem ſtrange to his Subjects, that he ſhould " change his Reſidence to clear himſelf of a " Fault, which, being plac'd to his Account, " would be the Complaint of one King againſt " another; whereas if it remain'd on his Ge- " neral, it might be redreſs'd by a proper " Correction, without puſhing things to thoſe " Extremities and Violences, which generally " attend the Deciſion of Quarrels which hap- " pen between Sovereigns."

MOTEZUMA could no longer ſuffer *Cortes* to enlarge upon Motives to perſuade him to a Thing which he judg'd impracticable; and letting him know, he underſtood what it was he aim'd at by ſuch a Propoſition, reply'd with ſome Impatience, " That Princes of his Rank " were not accuſtom'd to deliver themſelves " up to a Priſon, nor would his Subjects per- " mit it, tho' he ſhould forget his own Dig- " nity ſo far, and ſtoop to ſo baſe a Compli- " ance." To which *Cortes* anſwer'd; " That " provided he went willingly, without oblige-

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" ing the *Spaniards* to forget the Respect they " had for him, he valu'd not the Opposition " of his Subjects, against whom he could em- " ploy a sufficient Force, without any Breach " of their mutual Amity." The Dispute lasted long, *Motezuma* still refusing to leave his Palace, and *Cortes* endeavouring to persuade and secure him without proceeding to Extremities. *Motezuma* made several Offers, being sensible of the Hazard to which he was expos'd: He propos'd to send immediately for *Qualpopoca*, and all his Officers, and give them up to *Cortes* to be chastiz'd as he should think proper: He offer'd Two of his Sons as Hostages, to be sent Prisoners to the *Spanish* Quarters, till such Time as he should perform his Promise; and repeated, with some Signs of Weakness, " That " he was not a Person who could hide him- " self, or flee to the Mountains." *Cortes* approv'd none of these Expedients; and *Motezuma* refus'd to surrender himself: But the Captains, who were present at this Dispute, suspecting the Danger that might ensue by this Delay, began to lose Patience, intimating, that they must decide the Question by Action; and *Juan Velasquez de Leon* said aloud, *Let us leave off talking, and either seize or kill him.* *Motezuma* took Notice of those Words, which were utter'd with great Passion, and demanded of *Donna Marina*, What it was that *Spanish* Captain spoke with so much Vehemence? And she, with a Discretion which never

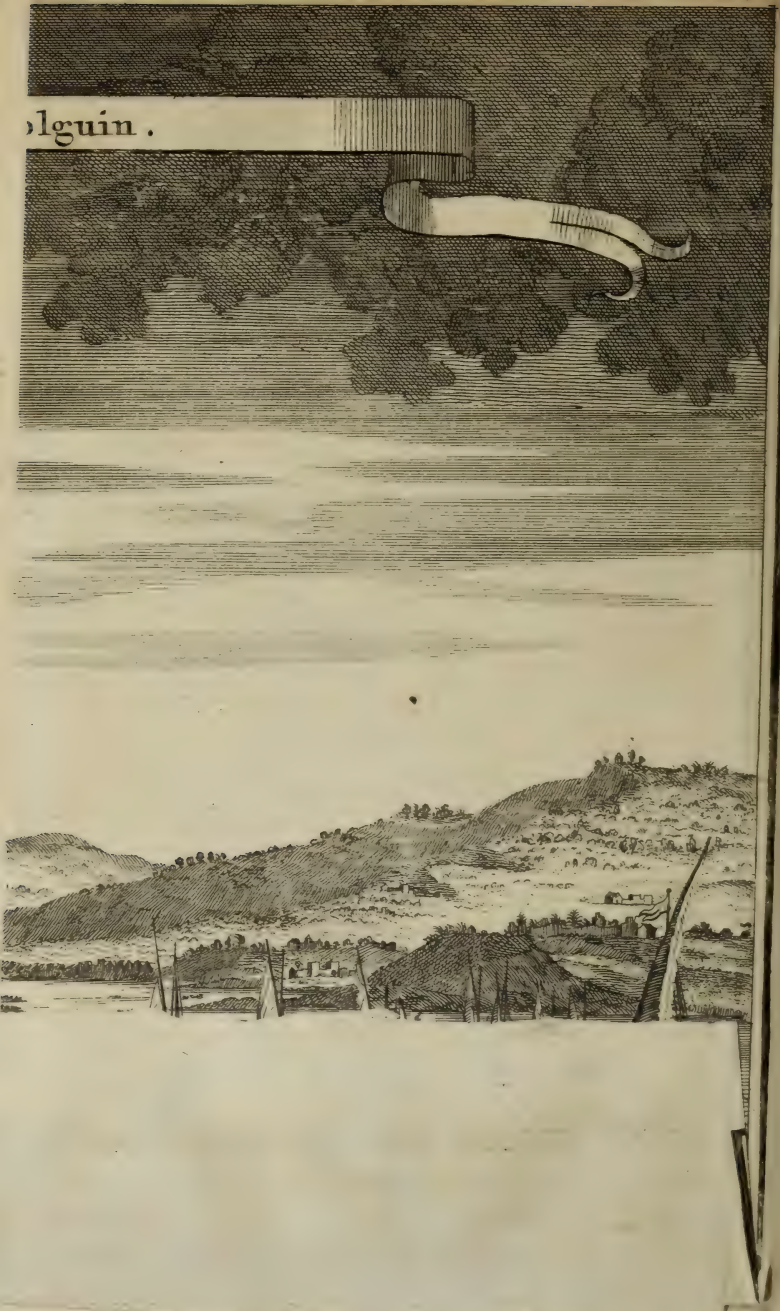
never fail'd her upon Occaſion, reply'd in ſuch a Manner as if ſhe apprehended being over-heard by the *Spaniards*; *My Lord, You run a great Hazard by not giving Way to the Inſtances of theſe People: You already know their Reſolution, and the ſupernatural Power that aſſiſts them. I am your own Loyal Subject; my Thoughts have no other Employment than to do you Service, and I am likewiſe one of their Confidents, well acquainted with the Secret of their Intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the Reſpect that is due to your Perſon and Dignity; and by reſiſting longer, you endanger your Life.*

THIS ſhort Speech, deliver'd with Addreſs, and well-tim'd, prevail'd on *Motezuma*; who, without entring into any freſh Conteſts, roſe from his Seat, and ſaid to the *Spaniards*, "I "truſt myſelf into your Hands: Let us go to "your Quarters, for ſo the Gods will have it, "ſince you have carried your Point, and I am "determin'd." He preſently call'd for his Servants, and commanded them to get ready his Chair and Equipage; and told his Miniſters, "That for certain Reaſons of State, "which he had concerted with his Gods, he "had reſolv'd to paſs ſome Days in the *Spa-* "*niſh* Quarters: That they ſhould underſtand, "and publiſh to all his Subjects, that he went "of his own Accord, and for his own Ad- "vantage." He then gave Orders to one of the

the Captains of his Guards, to bring *Qualpopoca* Priſoner, with the other Officers concern'd in the Invaſion of *Zempoala*; to which Purpoſe he gave him the Royal Signet, which he always carry'd ty'd to his Right Arm, and bad him take Troops along with him, that he might make ſure of apprehending the Criminals. All theſe Orders were given publickly, and *Donna Marina* explain'd them to *Cortes*, and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Captains, that they might not take Umbrage upon hearing him talk to his Servants, or commit any unſeaſonable Act of Violence.

He left his Palace without any more Delay, taking with him all his uſual Attendants: The *Spaniards* marched on Foot cloſe by his Chair, ſurrounding it under Pretence of waiting on him. A Report was preſently ſpread about the City, that the Strangers had carry'd off the Emperor; and the Streets were crowded in an Inſtant, with an Appearance of a general Inſurrection; for they made great Outcries, throwing themſelves upon the Ground like Men in Deſpair; and ſome diſcover'd the Tenderneſs of their Concern by their Tears: But *Motezuma*, with an Air of Gaiety and Compoſure, appeas'd the Tumult, and ſatisfy'd them in ſome meaſure. He commanded them to ceaſe their Cries; and at the firſt Motion of his Hand a profound Silence enſu'd. He then told them, " That he was not going to a Priſon, " but, for his own Diverſion, to paſs a few " Days

Guatimozin taken in his Retreat by Holguin.
J. Clark sc. 1724.


lguin .

" Days with his Friends the Strangers;" and this anſwering a Queſtion before it was ask'd, confirm'd what he endeavour'd to diſown. When he arriv'd at the Quarters, which, as we have obſerv'd, were in a Palace built by his Father, he gave Orders for his Guards to diſperſe the Populace, and to his Miniſters to publiſh, that it ſhould be Death for any one to occaſion the leaſt Tumult or Diſturbance. He courteouſly careſs'd the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who went out to receive him with reſpectful Joy. The Palace being ſufficiently large and convenient to receive him, and all his Retinue, he pitch'd upon an Apartment, ſeparate from the *Spaniards*, to reſide in, which was inſtantly furniſh'd by his own Servants with the beſt Moveables of his Wardrobe; and *Cortes* plac'd a ſufficient Guard of *Spaniſh* Soldiers at the Avenues, and doubled thoſe of the Quarters, poſting Centinels in the neareſt Streets, and omitting no Precaution which an Action of that Conſequence requir'd. Orders were given to the Soldiers to permit the Entrance of thoſe of the Emperor's Retinue, (who were now all known) as likewiſe of the Nobility and Miniſters who came to make their Court, with Reſerve to admit but a certain Number in the Room of others who went out, under Pretext of keeping his Majeſty from being crowded. *Cortes* went to viſit him the ſame Evening, firſt asking Leave, and obſerving the ſame Formalities and Ceremonies as when he waited on him in his

Imperial Palace. The like Reſpect was ſhew'd him by the Officers and Soldiers of Diſtinction: They all gave him humble Thanks for the Honour he did that Houſe, as if he came thither by his own Choice; and he was as chearful and pleaſant to all, as if none were preſent who had been Witneſſes of the Reſiſtance he would have made. He diſtributed amongſt them ſeveral Jewels with his own Hand, which he brought on purpoſe to ſhew his good Humour; and for all that could be obſerv'd, either in his Behaviour or Expreſſions, he never once diſcover'd the leaſt Weakneſs under his Confinement, nor ceas'd to maintain the Grandeur of an Emperor in the Conſtancy with which he endeavour'd to unite thoſe two incompatible Extremes, Majeſty and Dependency. To none of his Servants or Miniſters, whoſe Attendance at all Hours was permitted, did he diſcover the Secret of his Confinement; either for that he was aſham'd to own it, or that he fear'd the Loſs of his Life, if they ſhould make the leaſt Diſturbance. At that Time this Retirement was regarded by all as his own voluntary Reſolution; for which Reaſon, the Preſumption of the *Spaniards* was not ſo much as talk'd of, being indeed ſo great, that it was conceal'd by the very Exceſs of it, as a Thing impoſſible, and exceeding the Bounds of Imagination itſelf.

THUS was *Motezuma*'s Impriſonment contriv'd and executed, and in a few Days he became ſo eaſy, that he had ſcarce any Inclination to change his Condition. Nevertheleſs, his Subjects diſcover'd at length, that the *Spaniards* had him under Confinement, notwithſtanding they carefully diſguis'd the Violence they were guilty of, under the ſpecious Mask of a profound Reſpect. The Guards which were conſtantly poſted at the Avenues of the Emperor's Apartment, and the *Spaniards* being continually under Arms in the Quarters, left them no Room for Doubt; but no one made the leaſt Offer to treat concerning his Liberty: Nor is it to be imagin'd what Reaſons they had; he to continue under that Oppreſſion without any Reluctance, and they to live in the ſame Inſenſibility, without ſhewing any Concern at the Diſhonour done to the Perſon of their Emperor. The Boldneſs of the *Spaniards* was very ſurprizing; nor leſs remarkable was this Meanneſs of Spirit in *Motezuma*, a Prince ſo puiſſant, and naturally of ſo haughty a Diſpoſition, together with the Want of Reſolution which then appear'd in the *Mexicans*, a warlike Nation, and exceſſively zealous in ſupporting the Dignity of their Sovereigns. We may therefore ſafely venture to ſay, that the Hand of God was upon their Hearts; nor will this appear to be a ſuperſtitious Credulity, or any great Novelty in his Divine Providence, ſince the World has long ago

seen an Example of His forwarding the Undertakings of His own People, by subduing the Spirit of their Enemies.*

CHAP. XX.

Motezuma's *Behaviour under his Confinement, both to his own People and the* Spaniards. Qualpopoca *is brought Prisoner, and condemned to Death by* Cortes, *who causes* Motezuma *to be put in Fetters, during the Execution of the Sentence.*

THE *Spaniards*, in few Days, saw their Quarters converted into a Palace, without omitting to guard it, as the Prison of *Motezuma*. The Surprize of this daring Action abated insensibly amongst the *Mexicans*, with the Novelty of it. Some, disapproving the War made by *Qualpopoca* upon *Vera-Cruz*, commended the Procedure of *Motezuma*, and imputed it to the Greatness of his Soul that he parted with his Liberty as a Pledge of his Innocence. Others believed, that the Gods, with whom they supposed him to have frequent Communication, had advised him to that which

* Joshua, Chap. V. Verse 1.

was

was moſt convenient, and would moſt redound to his Advantage. And others (who did better) acquieſc'd intirely in his Reſolution, without being ſo preſumptuous as to examine into it, well knowing that the Determinations of Sovereign Princes concern the Duty, and not the Underſtanding of their Vaſſals. He diſcharged the Functions of a Sovereign at the uſual Hours; gave Audiences; heard the Advice and Repreſentations of his Miniſters; and apply'd himſelf to the Civil and Military Government of his Kingdoms, taking particular Care to conceal his involuntary Confinement.

His Table was ſerved from his Palace with a numerous Attendance of Servants, and greater Abundance than uſual: The Overplus was diſtributed among the *Spaniſh* Soldiers; and he conſtantly ſent Diſhes of the greateſt Delicacy to *Cortes* and his Captains, all whom he could call by their reſpective Names, and he had ſtudy'd even their ſeveral Humours and Diſpoſitions, and knew how to make a proper Uſe of his Obſervations in converſing with them, and would at Times ſeaſon his Diſcourſe with Pleaſantry, in ſuch a Manner as was no Way inconſiſtent either with Majeſty or Decorum. All the Time that he was diſengag'd from Buſineſs, he paſt among the *Spaniards*; and was wont to ſay, That he was not himſelf without them. Every one endeavoured to pleaſe him, and the Reſpect with which they treated him, gave him great Satisfaction. Freedoms

and ill Manners extreemly diſguſted him; and if any one happen'd to be faulty that Way, he made the Offender underſtand that it ſhock'd him, and that he was ſenſible of his being ill us'd: So jealous was he of his Dignity, that he reſented, with an extreme Indignation, ſomewhat done in his Preſence by a *Spaniard*, with Deſign, as he thought, to affront him, and deſir'd the Captain of the Guard to employ that Soldier at a greater Diſtance from his Perſon, or order him to be puniſh'd, if he again offer'd to appear before him.

Some Evenings he us'd to play with *Cortes* at *Tololoque*, which is a Game with little Balls of Gold with which they endeavour'd to ſtrike down certain ſmall Pins of the ſame Metal, at a proportionable Diſtance: They play'd for Jewels, or other Curioſities, which were loſt or won upon Five Marks. *Motezuma* diſtributed his Winnings amongſt the *Spaniards*, and *Cortes* gave his to the Emperor's inferior Officers. He would ſometimes rally *Pedro de Alvarado*, who counted for them, for his marking in Favour of *Cortes*, and reproach'd him after a pleaſant Manner, for being a bad Reckoner; nevertheleſs he deſired him at other times to mark, and take Care to keep a fair Account. He preſerved the Sentiments of a Prince, even at Play; regarding the Loſs as an Effect of Hazard, and the Gain as a Reward of Victory.

They

They did not omit in thoſe private Converſations to introduce the Subject of Religion. *Cortes* diſcourſed him ſeveral times, endeavouring with Gentleneſs to make him ſenſible of his Error. Fryar *Bartolemeo de Olmedo* ſeconded his Arguments with the like Piety, but with far greater Energy. *Donna Marina* very carefully interpreted theſe Diſcourſes, adding her own private Reaſons, as a Perſon newly undeceived, who had ſtill freſh in her Memory the Motives which converted her: But the Devil had got ſuch an Aſcendant over his Mind, that he ſuffered his own natural Reaſon to be ſo enſlav'd, that no Arguments were of Force enough to touch his obdurate Heart. It was not known whether he had a Communication with the Devil, or whether he continued to appear to him as uſual, after the *Spaniards* arrived at *Mexico*; on the contrary, it was believed as certain, that from the firſt Appearance of the *Croſs* of *Chriſt* in that City, all thoſe infernal Invocations loſt their Force, and the Oracles became ſilent. But that deluded Prince was ſo blind and abandon'd to his Errors, that he had no manner of Inclination to relinquiſh them, or to advantage himſelf by the Light which was ſet before him: This Hardneſs of Heart was perhaps the miſerable Effect of his other Vices and Enormities, with which he had diſpleaſed God; or a Chaſtiſement for that very Negligence with which he lent an Ear, without ſubmitting to the Truth.

After Twenty Days, or somewhat more, the Captain of the Guard, who had been sent to the Frontier of *Vera-Cruz*, returned, bringing *Qualpopoca*, and other Captains of the Army Prisoners, who upon Sight of the Royal Signet, had surrender'd themselves without Resistance. The Prisoners were conducted into the Apartment of *Motezuma*, who, by the Permission of *Cortes*, spoke to them, but with Reserve; for he was desirous they should conceal the Order he had given them, and suffer themselves to be deceived by this exterior Shew of Confidence which he seemed to repose in them. The Captain himself went afterwards with them to the Apartment of *Cortes*, to whom he delivered them, saying on the Part of his Master, "That he had sent them to him, that "he might find out the Truth, and, at his own "Discretion, inflict upon them what Punish-"ment he thought they deserved." *Cortes* shut himself up with them, and they presently pleaded Guilty to all their Charges, acknowledging, *That they had violated the Peace of their own Authority; had provoked the* Spaniards *of* Vera-Cruz *with their Hostilities, and had procur'd the Death of* Arguillo, *kill'd by their Order in cold Blood, tho' a Prisoner of War.* All this they confessed without once mentioning that they had any Commission for so doing from *Motezuma*, till perceiving that the Punishment they had been threaten'd with was going to be inflicted, they endeavoured to bring

bring him in for an Accomplice, in order to ſave their Lives: But *Cortes* utterly refus'd to give Ear to that Evaſion, treating it as a mere Chimera and Invention of theirs, merely to excuſe themſelves. They were judged by a Court Martial, and received Sentence of Death, with the Circumſtance of having their Bodies publickly burned before the Royal Palace, as Criminals who had incurred the Penalty of High Treaſon. Meaſures were immediately taken for the Execution, it being thought neceſſary not to delay it: But *Cortes* fearing *Motezuma*'s Reſentment, and that he might endeavour to defend thoſe who were to die for having executed his Orders, reſolved to terrify him, by ſome daring Action, which ſhould have threatening Appearances, and remind him of the Subjection in which he was. To this Purpoſe he bethought himſelf of another bold Stroke, to which he was certainly induc'd by the great Facility with which he depriv'd him of his Liberty, and the unexpected Patience with which he bore his Confinement. He ordered ſome of thoſe Fetters to be brought which they us'd to carry with them for Criminals, and with thoſe, carry'd openly in the Hands of a Soldier, *Cortes* came into the Preſence of *Motezuma*, and with him came *Donna Marina*, and Three or Four of his Captains. He did not omit the Reſpects with which he was wont to accoſt him; but raiſing his Voice, and

and with more Earneſtneſs in his Countenance than ordinary, he told him, "That *Qualpo-*
"*poca*, and the other Delinquents, now con-
"demned to ſuffer Death, had confeſs'd their
"Crime, and had been found deſerving of
"the Sentence; but added, that they had ac-
"cuſed him, affirming they had acted wholly
"by his Orders; and that therefore it was
"neceſſary he ſhould expiate for thoſe ſtrong
"Preſumptions by ſome perſonal Mortification:
"And that Kings, tho' they were not liable to
"ordinary Puniſhments, were yet ſubject to a
"ſuperior Law, which commands Crowns,
"and ought, in ſome Reſpects, to imitate the
"Guilty, when they found themſelves cul-
"pable, and were deſirous to ſatisfy Divine
"Juſtice." Having ſaid this, he commanded, with an Air of Authority and Reſolution, that they ſhould put *Motezuma* in Fetters, without ſuffering any Reply; and leaving him in that Condition, turned his Back, and retired to his Apartment, giving freſh Orders to his Guards, that for the preſent they ſhould not ſuffer him to have any Manner of Communication with his Miniſters.

So great was the Aſtoniſhment of *Motezuma*, to ſee himſelf treated with ſo much Ignominy, that at firſt he wanted Force to reſiſt, and afterwards Speech to complain. He remained a good while like one inſenſible; and his Servants who attended him, accompany'd

pany'd his Grief with Lamentation, without preſuming to ſpeak; throwing themſelves at his Feet, to bear the Weight of his Fetters. He recovered from his firſt Confuſion and Amazement, and began to break out into Impatience, but ſoon put a Curb upon himſelf; and attributing the unhappy Circumſtances to which he was reduced, to the Will of his Gods, waited the Event, not without Apprehenſions that his Life was in Danger: But ſoon recalling to mind who he was, he intrepidly expected his Fate.

CORTES loſt no Time in the Execution of what he had reſolved upon. The Criminals were brought forth to receive their Puniſhment; all neceſſary Precautions having firſt been taken, to prevent any Oppoſition that might be made. The Execution was performed in Sight of an innumerable Concourſe of People, not ſo much as one diſorderly Voice being heard, nor was there the leaſt Ground for Jealouſy. The People were ſeized with a Terror, which was mixed with Admiration and Reſpect. They greatly wondered at the Authority thoſe Strangers aſſum'd, who, at the moſt, ought to have behav'd themſelves only as Ambaſſadors from another Prince: But they did not preſume to call their Power in queſtion, ſeeing it was eſtabliſh'd with their own Sovereign's Approbation, which was the Reaſon that they flock'd in Crowds to behold that

that Spectacle, with a Kind of mortify'd Sedateneſs, which, without knowing in what it conſiſted, gave way to Fear. It was of great Help, on this Occaſion, that the Invaſion of *Qualpopoca* was ill received among the *Mexicans*, and that he had aggravated his Crime, and render'd it far more horrible, by having had the Preſumption to charge his Sovereign as an Accomplice, which paſs'd as a Thing incredible, and even had the Accuſation been true, would have been look'd upon as inſolent and ſeditious. This Execution muſt be regarded as the Third bold Action of *Cortes*, which was effected, as has been obſerved, upon very irregular Principles. He determined upon it, becauſe he thought it convenient, and not impoſſible. He knew the Genius of the People he had to deal with, and was no Stranger to the Value of the great Pledge he had in his Power, whatſoever might happen. Let us ſuffer ourſelves to be blinded by the Plauſibleneſs of his Reaſons, or at leaſt not bring them into Judgment in the Hiſtory, contenting ourſelves with relating the Fact as it paſs'd, which, after being executed, proved of great Conſequence for the Security of the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*, and ſtifled at that Time, thoſe Rumours which began to diſturb the *Mexican* Nobility.

Cortes immediately returned to the Emperor's Apartment, and, with a chearful Countenance, courteouſly addreſs'd him, ſaying, "The

"The Traytors, My Lord, who have been "ſo bold as to blemiſh your Character, have "received condign Puniſhment; and you your-"ſelf have ſufficiently comply'd with your "Obligation, by ſubmitting to the Juſtice of "God, with this little Intermiſſion of your "Liberty." Then immediately he ordered the Fetters to be taken off, or (as ſome Authors report) he put himſelf on his Knees, and took them of with his own Hands: And it is probable, from his uſual Preſence of Mind, that he might endeavour, with ſuch a Piece of Courteſy, to give a greater Recommendation to the Redreſs of his ill Treatment. *Motezuma* received this Part of his Liberty with a tumultuous Joy. He embraced *Cortes* two or three times, and ſeemed as if he would never have done with his thankful Acknowledgments.

They both ſat down, and entered into amicable Converſation, and *Cortes* us'd another Piece of Policy with him, being what he was continually meditating upon; for he ordered all the Guards to retire, and gave him to underſtand, that whenever he pleaſed, he might return to his Palace, the Cauſe of his Detention being now remov'd. This Offer he made him, as being very ſure he would not accept it; for he had frequently heard him firmly and reſolutely declare, That it was by no means convenient for him to think of returning

turning to his Palace, or of leaving the *Spaniards*, till ſuch Time as they ſhould retire from his Court; for that he ſhould greatly ſuffer in his Reputation, when it ſhould be known amongſt his Vaſſals, that he had received his Liberty from the Hand of another. A Thought which has been ſince father'd upon *Motezuma* as his own, but was indeed inſpired into him by *Donna Marina*, and ſome Captains, at the Inſtance of *Cortes*, who made Uſe of his own Reaſon of State, to hold him more ſecure in Priſon. But at this Time, *Motezuma* knowing what *Cortes* meant by that Offer, quitted the firſt Motive as foreign to his preſent Purpoſe, and made Uſe of another more artful; for he anſwered, "That he was "very much obliged to him for the Intention "he had to reſtore him to his Palace; but "that he had taken a Reſolution to continue "where he was, out of Regard to the *Spa*-"*niards*; for he knew very well, that aſſoon "as he ſhould be in his Palace, his Nobility and "Miniſters would preſs him to take up Arms "againſt them, for a Satisfaction of the Wrong "he had receiv'd." By theſe Means he deſir'd they ſhould underſtand, that he was contented to remain in Priſon for their Security, and to protect them with his Authority. *Cortes* prais'd his Deſign, and made Acknowledgments for the Care he had of them, as if he intirely believed all he ſaid. They both remained ſatisfy'd with their dexterous Management, believing

lieving they underſtood each other perfectly well; and, for their mutual Conveniency, ſuffer'd themſelves to be deceived with that Sort of Cunning, or Diſſimulation, which Politicians place among the Myſteries of Prudence, beſtowing the Name of Virtue upon that which indeed is nothing but Artifice and Policy.

The END *of the* FIRST VOLUME.

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